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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

A CONTRASTIVE STUDY OF THE RUSSIAN AND ENGLISH
ASPECTUAL CATEGORIES

by

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A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF SLAVONIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

SEPTEMBER, 1965

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

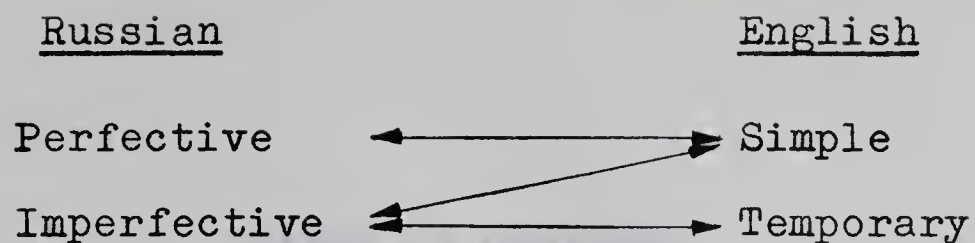
The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled "A Contrastive Study of the Russian and English Aspectual Categories" submitted by Kyril T. Holden in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author would like to express his sincerest gratitude to Professor G. Schaarschmidt for his invaluable aid in the correction of linguistic details, in suggestions for stylistic improvement, and in the checking of the final manuscript.

An Abstract of
A CONTRASTIVE STUDY OF THE RUSSIAN AND ENGLISH
ASPECTUAL CATEGORIES

In order to determine whether there exists a grammatical category of aspect in English which may be compared with that in Russian, a morphosyntactical analysis of English verb forms was carried out. It was found that the forms in be + . . .-ing exhibit functional peculiarities which distinguish them from those characterizing the categories of tense, mood, voice, etc. These forms may be paired with and opposed to the simple verb forms to constitute the category of aspect. Their grammatical meaning distinguishes an action or event as being continuous at a specific point or in a specific interval of time. In Russian, the perfective aspect concentrates attention on the boundedness of an action, while the imperfective aspect is uncharacterized in this respect. Both the English temporary (be + . . .-ing) and the Russian perfective aspects are marked forms. By comparing these two aspectual categories on the basis of the functional characteristics of their elements, a fundamental correlation of forms was established.



The Russian perfective aspect is always translated by the English simple form, the temporary aspect by the imperfective. When neither boundedness nor continuity of the action is implied in the context, the simple and imperfective forms translate one another. This relationship is constant despite any variations in tense, mode, or temporal relationship for verbs used in the active voice, indicative mood.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Upon viewing the numerous difficulties experienced by translators and linguists who attempt to correlate Russian and English verb forms, one's attention is eventually drawn to the grammatical category of aspect which, although clearly evident in Russian, is seemingly non-existent in English. If it is assumed, as Bloomfield asserts, that ". . . whatever can be said in one language can doubtless be said in any other. . . ,"¹ and that "the difference will concern only the structure of the forms, and their connotation,"² then it is worthwhile examining the English verb system contrastively with Russian in order to determine exactly what forms and grammatical categories enable us to duplicate or express as nearly as possible those grammatical meanings inherent in Russian aspectual forms. At the same time it may be ascertained what grammatical meanings expressed by English verb forms pose problems upon translation into

¹Leonard Bloomfield, Language (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1933), p. 278.

²Ibid.

Russian. Any orderly solution of these difficulties will aid greatly in the understanding of Russian and English aspects and lead ultimately to the predictability of a given form in the target language being used to translate the corresponding form in the source language. This, in essence, will be the aim of the present study of English and Russian aspects.

1.1 The method employed involves, first of all, a review of the basic definitions and rules of selection and categorization in morphological, syntactical, and morphosyntactical analysis. It is hoped that with these principles the grammatical category of aspect can either be established as existent in English, or conclusively rejected. This is necessary in view of the great divergency of opinion among linguists with regard to aspect in English. Understandably, only a brief sketch of the procedure can be given in this thesis, since the correlation of verb forms is of more interest to us than the correspondence of categories.

The analogous *modus operandi* will be omitted for Russian since aspect in this language is clearly distinguishable both morphologically and syntactically from the other categories of the verb. A description will be given, instead, of the basic methods of formation of aspectual pairs, the characteristics of irregular forms, along with definitions of the grammatical meanings

of the perfective and imperfective aspects. The reason for this examination of aspectual forms and aspectual pairs is that only in this way can the true grammatical meanings of the aspects be separated from the various shades of lexical meaning in the roots of these forms, a confusion which has carried over to the analysis of aspect in English.

Once the aspects have been defined in Russian and English, a comparison of forms may be put into effect, stressing the different concepts associated with aspect in the two languages and the consequential lack of a one-to-one correspondence. Assuming that each aspectual form can function only in certain contexts, the method of comparison of these forms involves a matching of the environments in which they are found. A translator or machine scanning a given utterance would then, by virtue of having recognized given contextual markers along with the aspect of the verb, be able to supply the corresponding form in the language into which he or it was translating. Most of the possible usages of aspect in both languages in the active voice, indicative mood have been considered in order to obtain a schema for translation from one language into the other. Data for this correlation has come from various Russian literary sources and their translated English equivalents. In cases where literal translations were lacking, the author supplied his own

version. Stress has been laid on Russian to English translations simply because of the larger number of English verb forms and the facility of obtaining English translations of Russian works rather than the reverse.

1.2 Due to the fact that this study has been limited to an examination of forms in the active voice, indicative mood, the correlation of forms is necessarily incomplete. It is expected that further investigation of Russian and English aspectual forms in other moods and voices will yield similar results, enabling one to predict with reasonable certainty the correlation of forms in given contexts.

CHAPTER II

GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES

2.0 The description of any language usually involves the classification of the basic units of speech (words) into various groups and categories. The purpose of doing this is to simplify our understanding of the elements of the language and to enable us to talk generally about the structural characteristics of these classes, without specific reference to individual words. "The usefulness of a classification depends directly on the uniformity of the structural relationships of the words included."¹ Since the aim of this thesis is to study contrastively the categories of aspect in English and Russian, it will be profitable to begin by establishing a clear picture of their positions in the respective languages and the principles on which they are founded. In order to do this effectively, it is necessary to review the fundamentals of descriptive analysis which lead to the formation of word-classes and categories.

¹H. A. Gleason, Jr., An Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961), p. 93.

2.1 Descriptive analysis, applied to the speech of a restricted group of people, involves an attack from three interrelated positions: phonology, morphology, and syntax.² Phonology is concerned primarily with bundles of minimal sound features (phonemes); morphology is the study of the relationship between recurrent sequences of phonemes (morphemes) and their meaning; syntax is the description of the arrangements of morphemes and their combinations (words). Together, morphology and syntax constitute what is traditionally referred to as grammar: "the description of the meaningful arrangements of forms in a language."³ The basic unit of grammar, like that of syntax, is the word, which may be defined as a combination of morphemes (including the zero-morpheme) serving to represent generally objects, processes, qualities, and relationships in reality, and capable of entering into relationships with other words. By virtue of the fact that both morphology and syntax determine the grammar of a language, there are, correspondingly, two ways of determining the structural ties or meaningful arrangements within an utterance.

²The existence of a fourth position might also be recognized: stylistics or the supersyntactic position. Cf. Bohumil Trnka, "Principles of Morphological Analysis," Philologica Pragensia, IV, No. 3 (1961), 130.

³Bloomfield, Language, p. 163.

2.1.1 In syntax we investigate the longer sequences into which words enter and classify forms in accordance with the environments in which they are found. Syntactic classes are "classes of words which occur in the same or comparable environments."⁴ Here the functions of linguistic forms are of basic importance, whereas in morphology, the forms themselves are of principal concern. These syntactic or form-classes, which are obtained by a process of substitution of linguistic forms in given environments, may be characterized by one or more words appearing in them. That is, they may be described in terms of word-classes or parts of speech, i.e. noun phrases are classed with and characterized by nouns, which are substitutable for them. Unfortunately, however, it is impossible to establish a complete set of mutually exclusive parts of speech, since these classes overlap and intersect one another. Subdivision of the syntactic classes is performed by a narrower type of selection known as agreement, of which there are three kinds: (1) concord or congruence, (2) government, (3) cross reference. This is basically the same process as that which produced our form-classes, the only difference being that the environments are now more restricted.

⁴Gleason, An Introduction to. . . , p. 95.

In this way we obtain a classification of almost all forms into intersecting categories ("a grammatical classification which always accompanies some grammatical feature. . . "5).

2.1.2 The morphological analysis of speech may be divided into two related sections: (1) derivational morphology, and (2) grammatical morphology, dealing with the categories and relations in which the words of a particular language take part.⁶ It is the latter section which furnishes us with the information necessary for classification into categories and parts of speech. Categories, from this point of view, are bundles of binary morphological oppositions, i.e. the category of case in Russian consists of the oppositions: nominative vs. accusative, accusative vs. genitive, etc. Once the categories of a language have been morphologically determined, the larger word-classes (part of speech) may be defined as combinations of certain categories, i.e. nouns are characterized in Russian by the categories of gender, number, and case. In highly inflected languages such as Russian and the other Slavic languages, the above procedure is quite

⁵Bloomfield, Language, p. 204.

⁶Trnka, "Principles of Morphological Analysis," p. 133.

satisfactory for the establishment of almost all grammatical categories, but in agglutinative languages such as English the syntactic approach proves to be more useful.

2.1.3 There is, of course, considerable overlapping of the classes obtained by these two methods - in fact, they should supplement one another. In general, one might say that the syntactic classes are broader and more inclusive than the morphological ones, but this is not altogether true. The fact is, that it is extremely difficult to draw the line between morphology and syntax. Most of the inflectional categories of morphology may also be arrived at via the syntactic approach, since each inflected form occurs in specific definable environments. Similarly, we may obtain syntactic word-classes by combining morphological categories. If it is at all necessary to define the limits of morphological structure, in order to distinguish it from syntactic structure, we may follow the definition given by Nida:

All single morphemes, or combinations of morphemes of which at least one immediate constituent is a bound form (including bound alternants of free forms) and of which the peripheral immediate constituent is not a clitic, or combinations of⁷ free forms in nonsyntactic arrangements.⁷

If, however, we wish to disregard the boundary between

⁷Eugene A. Nida, Morphology: The Descriptive Analysis of Words (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1946), p. 105.

1. The first of the two main parts of the report is a description of the work done during the year.

2. The second part is a summary of the results of the work.

3. The third part is a list of the references used in the report.

4. The fourth part is a list of the names of the people who have helped in the work.

5. The fifth part is a list of the names of the people who have helped in the work.

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morphology and syntax, a third means of classification may be created consisting of a combination of the previous two. In this case "the part of speech system of a language is the classification of all its stems on the basis of similarities and differences of inflectional and syntactical behavior."⁸ Grammatical categories are then of two types, selective or inflected, depending on whether the characteristic determining the category is inherent or inflected, i.e. gender of nouns in Russian vs. gender of adjectives.

2.1.4 Another method whereby the distinction between morphology and syntax is eliminated is the method of structural linguistics employed by Harris.⁹ Here phonology is combined with morphology and syntax to form a single classification procedure based on the following hierarchic levels of analysis: phonologic segments, regularly and intermittently present phonologic distinctions, phonemes, contours and phonemic long components, morphophonemes, morphemic segments, morphemes, morpheme-occurrence and position (morphemic sequence) classes, morphemic long components and constructions.

⁸Charles F. Hockett, A Course in Modern Linguistics (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1958), p. 221. (*Italics his.*)

⁹Zellig S. Harris, Structural Linguistics (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951).

Combinations of elements from any level constitute elements of a higher level and are themselves made up of combinations of elements from a lower level. The classification of elements into categories or classes is based strictly on distributional relations and avoids almost completely the use of meaning as a determining criterion.¹⁰



Since an adequate contrastive study of aspect in Russian and English on this structural basis would involve a complete reanalysis of both languages, it is more desirable, from our point of view, to proceed from the more traditional morphological-syntactical approaches mentioned above, making use of previously obtained results. It is to be hoped that the final conclusions will be the same in both cases. Another drawback of the structural method is that meaning is entirely disregarded, a point which is highly relevant in dealing with the translatability of a grammatical category from one language into another.

2.2 The meanings of grammatical forms and categories are, in general, very elusive. As Jespersen points out, we can analyse form and function without stepping outside the bounds of grammar, but as soon as we try to analyse

¹⁰Harris, Structural Linguistics, p. 372.

meaning we step into the domain of thought.¹¹ Here we have two spheres of activity represented. On the one hand there exist concepts associated with reality which are symbolized in speech; on the other hand man often seeks to insert into his language a subjective reflection of the workings of his own mind. In view of the complexity of both of these domains, it is no wonder that we often have difficulty in expressing ourselves, and that misunderstandings arise between the speaker and listener.

2.2.0 For purposes of semantic analysis of linguistic forms it is advisable to follow Nida's second Principle: "Meaning is definable by environment."¹² Here are two basic types of environment, linguistic and non-linguistic, each of which may be further subdivided into two classes as follows:

- | | | |
|-------------------|--|--|
| 1. Non-linguistic |  | Subjective environments
Objective environments |
| 2. Linguistic |  | Structural environments
Contextual environments ¹³ |

Each linguistic sign may thus carry several meanings in accordance with the environments in which it is found,

¹¹Otto Jespersen, The Philosophy of Grammar (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1924), pp. 53-54.

¹²Nida, Morphology. . . , p. 152.

¹³Ibid.

and it is not difficult to realize the formidability of extracting the specific meaning of a whole category of forms.¹⁴ It must also be noted that languages differ in their classification of phenomena, and, as a result, environments may differ from language to language. Consequently it is impossible to transfer the various types of semantic distinction from one language to another.

2.2.1 In attempting to find the meaning of a grammatical category, we must first of all attempt to distinguish between the grammatical meaning of a given form and the lexical meaning of the root of that form. Having grouped similar forms into categories on the basis of their distribution and substitutability for one another, we proceed to analyse the meanings expressed by them in order to find what they have in common. Basically, that meaning which is least modified or determined by subjective or contextual environments is sought.¹⁵ This can be done by substituting the forms in a minimal context of some

¹⁴Cf. V. G. Admoni, Osnovy teorii grammatiki (M.-L.: Izd. Akademii Nauk SSSR, "Nauka", 1964), pp. 40-47.

¹⁵These extraneous meanings should be eliminated by the mere listing of substitutable forms and the environments in which they are found. The various lexical meanings of roots and the influence of different environments will show up in a comparison of the meanings of the forms under study, and may be dispensed with.

kind, or by substituting in all possible types of environment and then selecting that meaning which remains constant. Sometimes a great divergency of meaning will be found with no apparent 'common factor'. This frequently happens in morphological categories based on oppositions, and when it does, we say that the member of the opposition showing this variation in meaning is unmarked with respect to the other member. That is, it is defined negatively as lacking the meaning of the marked member, i.e. imperfective vs. perfective (marked) verbs in Russian. In general, almost all categories are distinguished by a wide range of meanings, the most general one being considered the basic meaning of the category.

All things considered, the meaning of a grammatical category, or a certain part of that category (in the case of oppositions), is that which is least conditioned by subjective or contextual environments and is characteristic of every form in the structurally determined class. In a sense, we seek the 'greatest common factor' of meaning and try to eliminate extraneous influences. It is virtually impossible, however, to achieve a set of mutually exclusive categories with strictly differentiated meanings. Usually we end up with a group of intersecting categories, each of whose structure may be described as 'polar'. In

the center are found those elements showing the optimal concentration of characteristics of that category; towards the periphery are found certain forms manifesting characteristics of other categories. Three such categories of direct interest to us in our study of Russian and English verbal aspects are tense, mode, and aspect.

Tense, Mode, Aspect

2.3 In our review of descriptive analysis we indicated how grammatical categories were established and their meanings determined. Understandably, these categories, with their specific meanings, are valid only for the language described and must not, under any circumstances, be transferred to a second undescribed language. Many languages have similar categories, and this results in the use of a common nomenclature for their designation, yet upon closer examination, the meanings and units of the categories may be seen to differ radically. There is no such thing as a universal grammar based on the logical workings of the human mind, or pre-existing concepts which demand representation in speech.

In dealing with the grammar of a particular language it is therefore important to inquire as carefully as possible into the distinctions actually made by that language, without establishing any category that is not shown by the actual linguistic facts

to be recognized by the speech instinct of that community or nation.¹⁶

Our discussion of the categories of tense, mode, and aspect must, in consequence, be of a most general nature, showing the diverse concepts that are understood in various languages under these headings, with some reference to the problems to be encountered in Russian and English.

2.3.1 Tense is the symbolic representation in speech of the time of an event. Time itself is logically divided into two parts, past and future, the dividing line representing the dimensionless and ever-changing present. Schematically we could represent time by a line on which a point symbolizing the present is in constant motion to the right (considered positive in direction), or, what is relatively the same thing, the present point could be considered stationary with the time line passing to the left. The point of present time is usually basic to our representation of time by tense, yet, relative to it, we may choose secondary reference points which facilitate further refinements of our tense system. These reference points, either in the past or future, serve to subdivide the past into the near-past and far-past, the future into the near-

¹⁶Jespersen, The Philosophy of Grammar,
p. 49.

future and far-future. Corresponding to these divisions and subdivisions, there are, in some languages, linguistic forms which together form the category of tense. As might be expected, however, the correlation between tense and time is seldom perfect.

2.3.1.1 The first and probably most weighty difference is that the present tense, while serving to separate past from future, as does the present point in time, represents a much greater time span and is certainly never a dimensionless point. In both Russian and English the present tense is characterized not by a specific time which it designates, but rather by the fact that it includes the 'moment of speech',¹⁷ (corresponding to present time) in its representation. Ivanova makes this clear in the following:

Момент речи . . . является демаркационной точкой, отделяющей прошедшее от будущего, таким образом, он имеет разграничительную функцию. Наряду с этим, однако, момент речи может являться центром большего или меньшего промежутка времени (настоящего времени), причем в этом случае разграничительная функция снимается; в этом и есть особенность настоящего времени, которое

¹⁷ Calling the point of present time the 'moment of speech' often arouses considerable controversy among grammarians, since one is dimensionless, the other seemingly not. If, however, we understand that the 'moment of speech' is merely a designation for present time without necessarily referring to the time taken to make an utterance, the difficulty is avoided. A dimensionless point in space may be represented by the Cartesian coördinates (x, y, z), yet the symbol itself is not dimensionless.

выделяется не на основании разграничения моментом речи, как прошедшее и будущее,¹⁸ а на основании включения момента речи.

Hence, such temporally different statements as the following, both make use of the present tense in English and Russian: the earth rotates on its axis/земля вращается вокруг своей оси; I hear her voice/я слышу её голос.

2.3.1.2 The second problem in obtaining a one-to-one correspondence between time and tense is posed by the future. Both the past and present tenses signify events which have been or are observed in reality, "whereas the future [tense] is a mere notion associated variously with desire, will, obligation, emotion and incompleteness."¹⁹ The forms which traditionally have been called future tenses in English and Russian are, in fact, quite highly permeated with these 'modal' shades of meaning, and thus serve as further divergencies from our time-tense correlation.

2.3.1.3 In English and other languages where tense is quite highly developed, various notions, usually associated with aspect, may be implied by tense forms. Unless some

¹⁸I. P. Ivanova, Vid i vremja v sovremennom anglijskom jazyke (Leningrad: Izd. Leningradskogo universiteta, 1961), pp. 32-33.

¹⁹W. J. Entwistle, Aspects of Language (London: Faber and Faber, 1953), p. 184.

marker or contextual device is present to show that an English verb in the past tense refers to a non-completed action, we often assume that it was completed. For example, I eat nails for breakfast implies habitual action when the present tense form is used, while I ate nails for breakfast indicates a single, completed action. Similarly, 'relative' tenses (those associated with secondary reference points) may be accompanied by meanings other than those of temporal representation, causing us to waver in our acceptance of them as purely tense forms.

2.3.1.4 Both English and Russian present tense forms are capable of being used to describe past and future events. The present historic or dramatic present is a stylistic feature which enables the speaker to recount a past event using present tense forms, thus giving the illusion that the action is proceeding before his very eyes. Verbs of motion and concrete action are often employed in the present form in the two languages being studied to indicate futurity, creating another flaw in the correspondence between tense and time.

This by no means exhausts all the possible conflicts in temporal representation by means of tense, but it serves to illustrate some of the problems which do exist, particularly with regard to Russian and English. These and other irregularities will be further elaborated on in the respective chapters on the English

and Russian aspectual categories.

2.3.2 Closely associated with tense, especially regarding the future tense, is mode. "Modes show differing degrees or kinds of reality, desirability or contingency of an event" ²⁰ The confusion with tense arises because future forms in both languages, as mentioned before, cannot reflect objective reality, but merely give varying degrees of assurance to the listener of the possibility of the event's occurrence. In English and Russian, modal meanings are most often transmitted through auxiliary verbs attached to the infinitive, e.g. can, must, may, shall, will, . . . ; надо, должен, нужно, In Russian, the inflected present forms of perfective verbs also carry with them a strong modal meaning, indicating that mode is tied not only with tense, but with aspect as well.

2.3.3 The best general definition of aspect, showing its close relationship to tense, is that given by Hockett: "Aspects have to do, not with the location of an event in time, but with its temporal distribution or contour." ²¹ Here we see the essence of the problem which causes such difficulty in separating tense from aspect. Tense relates the event to a certain point or interval in

²⁰Hockett, A Course in Modern Linguistics, p. 237.

²¹Ibid.

time, while aspect defines the state or progression of the event with respect to the time chosen. Thus in various languages morphological markers may be present to distinguish punctiliar, momentaneous, continuous, durative, iterative, completed, or other types of action from one another. When this is done consistently throughout a language, we say that the language is characterized by the category of aspect and that the particular manifestation of temporal distribution which is chosen for morphological distinction is the marked aspect in that language.

2.3.3.1 As might be expected, however, many of these grammatical meanings may be confused with the lexical meaning of the root of the verb and with various contextual implications. It is for this reason that we group our verbs and other linguistic forms into categories on the basis of their substitutability for one another, and attempt to extract that grammatical meaning which is common to the whole category. Verbs such as колоть - 'to prick' are momentaneous, yet one hesitates to attribute this as the basic meaning to the perfective aspect in Russian, or to the simple aspect in English. Upon comparison with other verbs of the same form, it is found that our hesitation was well-founded, for the meaning of momentaneousness in this case is lexical, not grammatical.

2.3.3.2 Context has a similar distracting influence on aspectual meaning. He enters the room (eye-witness report)/он входит в комнату; he enters this room every day/он входит в эту комнату каждый день show a single verbal form being used with two seemingly different aspectual meanings. A single momentary action in the first case is contrasted with a habitual iterative action in the second. The very fact that the imperfective and simple forms are capable of being used in such varied contexts suggests that their basic grammatical meanings are probably quite general.

2.3.3.3 Aspect and tense, as was previously indicated, are also closely associated with one another. Much of the confusion seems to arise because aspect and tense are often similarly depicted on the time line. The English expanded form has frequently been called a tense because of its short, continuous duration in time. Yet when one examines the form more carefully, taking into consideration the aforementioned definitions of tense and aspect, it is easily seen that the temporal distribution is aspectual in meaning, while the tense only relegates the form to a point in time. Another example of the relationship between tense and aspect is the usage of the present perfective form in Russian for future assurance. In this case, the idea of completion or boundedness inherent in the perfective

aspect is incompatible with the present, therefore the completion is shifted into the future and tense is sacrificed for aspect.

2.4 This, then, is a general picture of how one goes about determining the existence of grammatical categories and their interrelationships with one another. These categories must be ascertained for each language individually, since no two societies view phenomena in the same way, and there are no pre-existing concepts which demand expression in language. In analysing English and Russian, we find morphological and syntactical markers which distinguish the temporal distribution of the verb. These marked forms can be contrasted with other unmarked verbs, and grammatical categories of aspect may thus be established. Upon closer examination, however, it will be noted that fundamental differences exist between these categories, and that difficulties in translating verbal forms from one language to the other are in evidence. In order to determine exactly in what way the category of aspect in English deviates from that in Russian, it is necessary to study these languages separately, then base our conclusions on a comparison of the two.

CHAPTER III

THE CATEGORY OF ASPECT IN ENGLISH

3.0 The English verbal system, in contrast to those of many other languages, abounds in forms which specify the temporal positions, relationships and distributions of the actions or states represented. Until recently, grammarians have been satisfied in calling all of these forms tenses, taking into consideration only the fact that they had something to do with time, with little regard for their inherent differences. The advent of a more scientifically grounded era in linguistics brought with it, however, a firmer foundation upon which the grammarian could base the establishment of form-classes and categories. This was the application of the principles of substitution and opposition of forms. Bringing these precepts to bear upon the English verbal system, an arrangement can be arrived at whereby four distinct grammatical categories are elicited from the single category previously known as 'tense'. First, it is necessary to examine the verb forms and their functions.

English Verb Forms and their Functions
in the Active Voice, Indicative Mood

3.1 Four verb forms are immediately recognizable by virtue of their morphological markers; three are analytical, one is synthetic. Each of them may be further inflected to show a ternary representation of the time relationship past-present-future, making twelve forms in all. Their forms and functions are as follows:

3.1.1 Simple Present¹

Form: The third person singular is distinguished by the basic ending morpheme {-S} which has the three allomorphs /-s/, /-z/, /-ɪz/. All other personal endings are unmarked. An exception is provided by the verb be whose conjugation is quite unique (am, are, is, are, are, are).

Function: a) It is used about present time. That is, ". . . the only thing required is that the theoretical zero [moment of speech] falls within the period alluded to."² This covers the whole range of sentences from point actions to eternal truths, repeated actions, etc., e.g.

¹The traditional terminology for these forms will be employed until their exact grammatical nature has been determined.

²Otto Jespersen, Essentials of English Grammar (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1933), p. 237.

He hits the ball.

The earth rotates on its axis.

He is fat.

He comes here every day.

b) Future reference. When used in simple sentences or in the principal clause of compound sentences, some tie with the present moment is usually implied. In conditional subordinate clauses, or in temporal subordinate clauses where the verb of the main clause is in the compound future (shall, will + inf.), no such association with the present is felt, e.g. If it rains today, we won't be able to go outside.

We will leave when he gets here.

cf. We leave at 8:45 this evening.

This function is usually restricted to verbs expressing concrete action, although in subordinate adverbial clauses (especially after the adverbs when, whenever, until, till, as soon as, as, directly, etc.³) almost any verb may be used in this capacity, e.g.

When he sees her, he'll go insane.

I shall persist until he admits defeat.

³Cf. J. Millington-Ward, The Uses of Tenses in English (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1954), p. 8.

c) Present historic or dramatic present.⁴ For vividness of description, simple present forms can be used to designate past events. These forms do not exactly correspond, however, to the forms which would be used if the action were occurring before the eyes of the speaker, as is frequently asserted.⁵ In fact, all plot-advancing verbs which would be put in the expanded form in an on-the-spot description are changed to the simple form in the dramatic present. Only in reference to background events does this expanded present remain unchanged,⁶ e.g.

On the spot broadcast:

The Queen is stepping from her limousine now.
She is being greeted by the Governor General and
the Prime Minister. The Royal Canadian Air
Force band is playing 'God Save the Queen'.

Dramatic Present:

The Queen steps from her limousine and is

⁴Present historic is the more traditional name, but since grammarians have realized that this form is neither present nor historic, it is now referred to as the dramatic present. Cf. Jespersen, Essentials. . ., p. 238.

⁵Ibid., pp. 238-239.

⁶Martin Joos, The English Verb (Madison and Milwaukee: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1964), pp. 126-130.

greeted by the Governor General and the Prime Minister. The Royal Canadian Air Force band is playing 'God Save the Queen'.

In some areas the dramatic present is used almost exclusively for narrating past events and is a popular colloquial idiom for vividness of expression.⁷

3.1.2 Simple Past or Preterit

Form: Characterized by the ending {-D} consisting of the allomorphs /-ɪd/, /-d/, /-t/, /-∅/.

'Irregular' forms show root or stem alternations with or without the ending allomorphs, e.g.

be - was, choose - chose, feel - felt.

Function: Temporally, the action or state referred to existed in a period of past time which does not include the moment of speech. The action may be either momentaneous or durative depending upon the context in which the form finds itself, and upon the lexical meaning of the stem, e.g.

I wrote him a letter yesterday.

It rained for days and days.

She always resembled a sleepy cat.

⁷The form is used with great frequency in this capacity in the stories by Damon Runyon. They reflect the speech of the New York gamblers and underworld of the thirties and forties. Cf. Damon Runyon, Damon Runyon Favorites (New York: Pocket Books Inc., 1942).

This form is often used with adverbial expressions of past time or contextual implications of the time at which the action took place. In narratives it can be used for plot-advancing events, descriptions or repeated actions, contingent upon the context. In indirect speech or events it replaces the simple present, e.g.
He said that he ate cherries every day.

(He said, "I eat cherries every day.")

3.1.3 Compound or Periphrastic Future

Form: $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{shall}} \\ \underline{\text{will}} \end{array} \right\} + \text{infinitive for first person, singular and plural.}$

will ('ll) + infinitive for all other persons.

Function: The functioning of this form in extremely varied contexts has led to a great diversity of opinion among grammarians with regard to its basic meaning. Originally it was assumed that this was a pure future form, serving to express the existence of an action or state in the future. Yet upon closer examination, many meanings, which apparently refute the above assertion, reveal themselves. The following examples will help to illustrate the great disparity in meaning of this form, resulting from the multifarious environments in which it is found.

a) We shall overcome.

b) For love will still be Lord of all. (Sir Walter Scott)

c) I will do it.

d) That will do.

e) This car will go 140 mph.

f) He will come and stand for hours without saying a word.

g) They will be asleep now.

h) If you don't do your homework, you'll fail.

Only a), c) and h) have future reference implied to any great degree, and this is coloured by various emotional connotations. The other examples, while representing habitual action (f), present deduction (g), and characteristics or capacity (b, d, e), indicate little or no futurity and thus cannot be classed temporally with the previous three examples. The one unifying grammatical meaning which is manifested in all these examples is that of assurance, a characteristic which, as will be seen later, serves to exclude this form from the category of tense. Whether those forms with shall show a differing degree of assurance from those in will is a very delicate question, and is necessarily highly subject to the personal

interpretation of the investigator.⁸ It is worth noting, nevertheless, that the frequency of usage of shall is decreasing steadily in declarative or indicative sentences, and is now comparatively rare in American English.⁹

3.1.4 Present Expanded

Form: Simple present forms of be + . . .-ing

Function: The chief function of this form is to represent an action as going on continuously in the time interval surrounding the moment of speech. In view of the fact that the present tense generally represents various stretches of time, this form can be used to 'fill' a longer or shorter interval with a continuous or continuously repeated action or state. The other two uses of this form are the denotation of action in the near future, and the dramatic present, for background events. All three uses are exemplified in the following sentences:

He is listening to the radio.

I am working at the blacksmith's shop.

⁸Joos chooses to regard the forms with will as indicating "adequate casual assurance," while those with shall mark "contingent casual assurance." Cf. Joos, The English Verb, pp. 149-164.

⁹Cf. Charles C. Fries, "The Periphrastic Future with Shall and Will in Modern English," PMLA, XLVII (1925), 963-1024.

— I am going to jail tonight.
You're always sticking your foot in your mouth.¹⁰
So on the night in question I am standing in
the lobby of the Garden with many other citizens,
and I am trying to find out if there is any
skullduggery doing in connection with the
fight, (Damon Runyon, Bred for Battle)

3.1.5 Past Expanded

Form: Simple past of be + . . . -ing

Function: The use of this form is identical to that of the present expanded form, the only difference being that in this case the reference point in time is in the past rather than the present. It is also used in indirect speech in place of the present expanded form in direct speech, e.g.

He said he was leaving for London today.

(He said, "I am leaving for London today.")

3.1.6 Future Expanded

Form: $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{shall}} \\ \underline{\text{will}} \end{array} \right\} + \underline{\text{be}} + . . . -\underline{\text{ing}}$

Function: Similar to both the simple future and the expanded forms, the future expanded is used to give assurance that the action or state will be

¹⁰Note that the emotional implication of this example follows from the use of always with the expanded form. This is an exaggeration which makes "saying the wrong things" a continuous characteristic, valid for all time.

in progress or continuous existence at some specific point or in some interval of future time, e.g.

I shall be eating breakfast at 10:00 AM.

He will be receiving guests from three to four.

While you are talking, we shall be swimming in the lake.

If the context does not refer to some precise time or time interval, then the action is assumed to be continuously valid for the whole span of time alluded to. Often this may be interpreted as an exaggeration, as in the case where always was used with the expanded form.

We shall soon be basking on the beaches of California.

3.1.7 Present Perfect

Form: Simple present of have + . . . {-N}
where {-N} consists of the allomorphs /-Ø/, /-id/, /-d/, /-t/, /-in/, /-n/, and/or root alternations.

Function: The present perfect form names an action or state which is in some way connected to the present. The exact nature of this connection is very elusive and has consequently led to considerable debate among scholars. Some

grammarians declare that the present perfect refers to actions which were completed before the moment of speech (or the time reference indicated in context).¹¹ Others claim that this form represents an action which has occurred in the past, yet is tied to the present either by virtue of its having continued up to the present moment, or by the existence of results or consequences bearing on the present moment.¹² Pursuing this view somewhat further, Martin Joos asserts that it is not the action expressed by this form that is of importance, but rather the resulting effect or state which is before the eyes of the observer.¹³ Since the true meaning can be determined only by comparison with other forms, we shall leave this to a later section and confine ourselves at this point to listing the functions of the present perfect form.

The perfect may be used with certain lexically restricted verbs indicating actions

¹¹A. I. Smirnickij, Morfologija anglijskogo jazyka (Moscow: Izd. literatury na inostrannyh jazykach, 1959), §§ 137-138. Also: Ivanova, Vid i vremja. . ., § 23.

¹²Jespersen, Essentials. . ., p. 243. Henry Sweet, A New English Grammar, Part I (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1891), 98.

¹³Joos, The English Verb, pp. 138-146.

which progress ('process' verbs¹⁴) to signify that the action was completed at some unspecified time in the interval ending with the moment of speech. Because of this tie with the present moment, the perfect form of these verbs is never used in contexts where specific or definite past time is mentioned, e.g.

I have written my thesis.

not *I have written my thesis yesterday.

If the time interval is incomplete or includes the moment of speech, then it is compatible with this form and its meaning of completed action, e.g.

I have written my thesis in three months.

Since yesterday, four inches of rain have fallen.

With verbs which describe static actions or characteristics not normally directed towards the attainment of a goal, i.e. 'status' verbs,¹⁵ the use of the present perfect form in conjunction with contextual implications of incompleted time signifies that the action has been continuous from some obscure point in the past up to, and including the moment of speech, e.g.

¹⁴Joos, The English Verb, p. 116.

¹⁵Ibid.

I have lived here for years.

He has always resembled his father.

The third major use of this form is in subordinate temporal or conditional clauses denoting an action which has preceded a given point in the future.

This action or state manifests exactly the same temporal relationship with the point in future time as does the same form when used in a context of present time. That is, it may have been completed before the moment of reference and be disjoint from it, or it may be continuous up to, and including this moment, e.g.

When you have finished supper, we shall go swimming.

When he has lived as long as I, he will no longer say such ridiculous things.

This usage is very similar to the corresponding application of the simple present and, at times, is almost synonymous to it.

3.1.8 Past Perfect

Form: had + . . . { -N }, where { -N }
is defined as before.

Function: The same temporal relationship is evident in this form as in the analogous present perfect. The action may or may not have been completed before the point of past reference (depending on

the lexical meaning of the verb) which is always referred to in the context, e.g.

By six o'clock we had finished supper.

He had resided in the house for several years and had grown quite accustomed to the ghosts.

This form is also employed in indirect speech or thoughts to replace the present or past perfect of direct speech or thoughts, e.g.

She thought that she had developed some resistance to men.

(She thought, "I have developed some resistance to men.")

They said that they had completed their training long before the war.

(They said, "We had completed our training long before the war.")

3.1.9 Future Perfect

Form: $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \underline{\text{shall}} \\ \underline{\text{will}} \end{array} \right\} + \underline{\text{have}} + . . . \{-N\} \text{ as before.}$

Function: This form again has the identical relation to some point in future time as the previous perfect forms had to the present and past reference points respectively. The action represented by the verb may be inclusive or exclusive of the reference point alluded to in the context, e.g.

By noon we shall have dug the garden.

In five minutes he will have stayed under water longer than any human being has ever done before.

3.1.10 Present Perfect Expanded

Form: Simple present of have + been + . . .-ing

Function: This is literally a combination of the previous expanded form with the perfect. From the expanded form it obtains the meaning of an action in progress for an uncertain length of time. From the perfect is derived the meaning of indirect association with the present and positioning of the action at some unspecified point in the past. In contrast to the present expanded form, the action is not directly associated with the moment of speech, while, in opposition to the present perfect form, there seems to be no indication that 'process' verbs signify completed action, e.g.

I have been eating an apple.

cf. I have eaten an apple.

I am eating an apple.

For 'status' verbs there seems to be little difference between the perfect expanded and the simple perfect forms, although continuity of the action seems more evident in the former, e.g.

I have been living here for years.

I have lived here for years.

3.1.11 Past Perfect Expanded

Form: had + been + . . .-ing

Function: The past perfect expanded form bears on identical relationship to some point in the past as the present form does to the moment of speech. It represents a continuous action tied, either by virtue of an obtained result or consequences, to a specified moment in the past. Usually, like all perfect forms, it is accompanied by adverbial adjuncts of incomplete time, e.g.
We had been swimming for two hours.

He had, for some time, been attempting to thread the needle.

This form is also used for indirect speech or thoughts originally in the present perfect expanded or past perfect expanded forms, e.g.
He said that he had been feeling rather ill lately.

(He said, "I have been feeling rather ill lately.")

They thought that the Indians had been achieving some independence during that time.

(They thought, "The Indians had been achieving some independence during that time.")

3.1.12 Future Perfect Expanded

Form: $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{shall} \\ \text{will} \end{array} \right\} + \text{have} + \text{been} + . . .-ing$

Function: Again, as in the previous two forms, the temporal relationship, and the idea of an action in progress before a particular moment in time, are preserved. With the addition of the elements shall or will, this form serves to indicate the assurance that a certain action or state will be in progress until the point of future reference, e.g.

By the time you arrive, I shall have been drinking for about two hours.

Having now examined the twelve forms and their functions, we may continue by studying them in contrast to one another. In this way, an analysis of their similarities and differences in distribution and meaning will aid us in determining the categories to which they belong.

3.2 Categorization of Verb Forms and their Grammatical Meanings

3.2.1 As mentioned above, each of the four basic forms shows a ternary differentiation reflecting the time, or time interval, in which the action was performed or was in progress. The past forms in all cases show that the action or state existed in past time disjoint from the present moment. In contrast to this, the present forms indicate that the moment of speech is relevant to the interval of time which they represent. In each case the moment of speech is included in the time span. These are

the only constant meanings of the past and present tenses which may be extracted upon comparison of the simple, expanded, perfect, and perfect expanded forms. The future forms pose an additional problem, since they express the supplementary subjective attitude of the speaker. This is possible, in fact inevitable, inasmuch as the future forms cannot reflect reality, as do those in the present and past, but must confine themselves to signifying varying degrees of assurance, volition, or probability of the event's occurrence in the future. When we note that other auxiliaries exist which have essentially the same function as shall and will (can, ought to, may, etc.), and which can be found in similar contexts indicating futurity, we classify them in a category distinct from tense which is characterized by the opposition past vs. non-past. This category shall be called mode, its meaning, in general terms, being the assertion by the speaker of the "specific relation between the event and the factual world."¹⁶

3.2.2 Now that the three subdivisions of each basic form have been eliminated, we may proceed to an investigation of the six possible grammatical oppositions of the simple, expanded, perfect, and perfect expanded forms. It will be noted, first of all, that the oppositions expanded vs. simple and perfect expanded vs.

¹⁶Joos, The English Verb, p. 149. (Italics his.)

perfect are similar, since the component elements differ only in the fact that one element shows the form be + . . . -ing, the other does not. Similarly the oppositions perfect vs. simple, perfect expanded vs. perfect show the common difference of the perfect marker have + . . . {-N}. The remaining two oppositions, perfect expanded vs. simple and perfect vs. expanded can be used to further enrich our understanding of the meanings of all four forms. The first pair of oppositions is essential in determining the meaning of the expanded form, the second pair in ascertaining the essence of the perfect. The others will aid in the establishment of grammatical categories.

3.2.2.1 In comparing the expanded and simple forms, the following vital differences are at once noted: (1) the simple form may indicate incompleted or completed actions in the past (present forms are all necessarily incomplete), whereas the expanded form always refers to an action which is in progress; (2) the simple forms are not directly tied to any given moment or interval in time; they are placed in the past or present tense on the basis of whether the moment of speech is included in the time interval under consideration, but beyond this no specific time reference is required. In fact, the simple forms themselves are often used as temporal reference points with which other forms are associated.

The expanded forms, on the other hand, are always affiliated with precise, contextually given points or time intervals; (3) certain verbs are seldom, if ever, found in the expanded form. A more thorough examination of these verbs and their incompatibility with the expanded form may assist us in shedding additional light on its underlying meaning.

In general, they express "the passive or stationary attitude of the person or thing concerned,"¹⁷ e.g. remain, appear, seem, dislike, hate, need, see, hear, believe, resemble, suppose, etc. These activities are not normally considered as developing in time; consequently, to represent them at any given stage of progression would be unnatural unless special stress were being laid on this point. When they do appear in the expanded form and are contrasted with the more common simple form, the additional meaning of vividness or intensity of the action is brought out, e.g.

He hated her more every day.

cf. He was hating her more every day.

I live here.

cf. I am living here.

Two factors seem to be at work in creating this feeling of intensity. First is the association with a temporal

¹⁷H. Poutsma, The Character of the English Verb and the Expanded Form (Groningen: P. Nordhoff, 1921), p. 85.

reference point (the lack of which causes the second example to seem incomplete). Second, the action is felt to be more continuous in the expanded form, and the attention of the subject more directly focused on the performance of the action. Since these 'status' verbs do not usually represent developing actions, they are not normally associated with a particular point or interval in time on which attention is concentrated. Consequently, they are not found in the expanded form, which has this characteristic. When special reference to temporary progression or development is necessary, these 'status' verbs may be employed in the expanded form, with the accompanying intensified meaning. This leads us to believe that continuity at a specific moment, or in a specific interval of time is one of the basic meanings of the expanded form. This cannot be asserted conclusively, however, until we have examined the other oppositions into which the expanded form enters.

Summing up our comparison of the simple and expanded forms, we may state that the expanded form seems to characterize an action as being in progress at a specific time, or in a specific interval, without regard to when the action was begun, or when it was or will be completed. The simple form is indifferent both to the development of the action and to its tie with some reference point in time.

3.2.2.2 Next, the perfect expanded form is contrasted to the ordinary perfect. Here we find an almost exact parallel with the previous opposition. The simple perfect may refer to an action which, by virtue of the fact that it has been completed and shows some result, or extends up to the moment of reference, is tied to that moment. Whether the action has been completed or not is irrelevant to this form, which seems only to imply the existence of a connection with the moment of reference. It is interesting to note, at this point, that those same verbs which in the simple past form represented completed actions (process verbs), also signify completed actions in the present and past perfect, the sole difference being that in the latter forms there exists some result or consequence at the point of time referred to. Likewise, those verbs which in the simple past form gave no indication of completed action do not do so in the perfect. The perfect expanded stands in the same relation to the simple perfect as the expanded form did to the simple form. That is, the action is now regarded as continuous in the interval preceding the moment of reference, while still being associated with it by means of a result or consequence. The only difference between the two oppositions is that, while the expanded form in the first case was associated with a specific time interval, in the second case the interval is not limited

in the same sense. The span of time indicated in either of the perfect forms (simple or expanded) has only one limit, that of the point of reference with which it is linked and which terminates the development of the action (for verbs in the expanded form or status verbs in the simple form). As in the previous opposition, certain verbs may be used in both the simple and expanded perfect forms without any great difference in meaning other than vividness of expression in the latter form, e.g. I have lived here for five years; I have been living here for five years. Similarly, those verbs which were inconsistent with the expanded form are also not found in the expanded perfect form, e.g. I have known him for a long time.

In conclusion, it may be stated that the main difference between the perfect expanded form and the simple perfect is that in the former the action, which is felt to be tied to the moment of reference, is regarded as continuous, whereas the latter form is indifferent in this respect. Whether the action in the perfect expanded form continues up to the reference point or not seems unclear. The only meaning which can be gleaned from this form is that the resulting state or condition is a consequence of a continuous action.

3.2.2.3 The third opposition to be studied in our attempt to find the grammatical meaning of the expanded

form is the opposition simple expanded vs. simple perfect. It is immediately apparent that very little similarity exists between the two. The perfect forms are characterized by the fact that the actions which they depict precede a specific point in time and may be either completed or incomplete, the exact time of the action itself being irrelevant. Thus, these forms are always used in contexts where the time interval is unbounded. The simple expanded forms show exactly the opposite trait. They are always associated with a bounded interval of time, in which the action is regarded as continuous, and do not show any secondary associations with some moment of reference. As a result, it seems that the two forms are of a completely different nature, since they are marked with respect to different features.

3.2.2.4 A much greater likeness is observed between the simple expanded and perfect expanded forms. First of all, both bear the markings of the expanded form (be + . . . -ing). Secondly, in both cases the action is regarded as being in progress or continuous for some period of time. However, here again, as in the previous comparison, we see that the simple expanded form is associated with a definite interval, whereas the perfect expanded form is unspecified in this regard. The latter form shows clearly some of the distinguishing features of the perfect form; namely, the association with a secondary

reference point and the seeming unimportance of the action itself. This would lead us to infer that, temporally, the perfect meaning overpowers the influence of the expanded form, causing it to retain only its meaning of continuous action. To help clarify this meaning of the perfect and expanded perfect forms, we shall conclude with the oppositions perfect vs. simple, perfect expanded vs. simple.

3.2.2.5 The factor which distinguishes perfect forms (both simple and expanded) from all others in English is the positioning of the action represented in an interval of time directly preceding some reference point in the past, present, or future. Since the important time is not that of the occurrence of the action itself, but rather the secondary point to which it is referred, one is led to believe that something existing or happening at the moment of reference is of greater importance than the previous action, otherwise the simple form would have been used instead of the perfect. For example, the sentence I have eaten all the cherries would most likely be used in a context where the absence of the cherries is quite conspicuous. A statement such as I ate all the cherries, on the other hand, would probably be made before anyone had noticed the absence of the cherries, or before any physical consequences of the eating had occurred. In certain cases the existence of

a resulting state or condition is less strongly felt,
e.g.

When I had finished breakfast, the butler
cleared away the dishes and placed before
me the morning paper.

Of course, one may argue that, even in this case, the finishing of breakfast is a necessary condition for the clearing away of the dishes, and thus some resulting state must be present. Even in I had seen him before he saw me, given by Jespersen,¹⁸ the meaning is more than simply 'I saw him, then he saw me.' Here it seems that the first person was prepared to be seen by the other person because he had seen the other person first. All of these interpretations may seem rather subjective, yet one cannot deny the fact that the action presented in the perfect form is, in almost all cases, of secondary importance, or is a necessary condition for the existence of the state or action given by the simple or expanded form. This is shown by the fact that the perfect forms are never used in narratives to show chronologically successive events, but function rather as retrospective forms to indicate the connection between the event in the perfect form and the main action in the simple or expanded forms. The perfect expanded form manifests

¹⁸Jespersen, Essentials. . . , p. 246.

exactly the same characteristic, the only difference being, as mentioned before, that the action is regarded as continuous or continuously repeated for some unspecified period up to the moment of reference. Thus, the tie with a contextually determined reference point and some state or event present at that time seems to be one of the primary grammatical meanings of the perfect and perfect expanded forms. This completes the six basic oppositions of English verb forms.

3.2.2.6 We have seen that the fundamental grammatical meaning exhibited by the expanded form when contrasted to the simple form is that of the action being in progress or continuously repeated at a specific time or in a specific interval of time. The meaning of the expanded form is incommensurable with the perfect form, which represents an action or state which preceded the moment of time under consideration and which has some influence on the action or state existing at that moment. Thus, the perfect is associated with a secondary point in time while the expanded form is tied to a 'primary' point.¹⁹ The perfect expanded form combines the full meaning of the perfect with the character of action represented by the expanded form. This leads one to believe that the

¹⁹A primary point of time is defined as one which corresponds to some stage of the revelation of the action.

association with primary points in time is not an essential characteristic of the expanded form, since it is almost completely erased when combined with the perfect. What is left in the perfect expanded form is a simple continuous or continuously repeated action, with no indication as to when it was begun, or whether it was or shall be completed.

3.2.3 Both the expanded and perfect forms may be opposed to the simple form which is neutral with respect to the above-mentioned characteristics. Since the expanded and perfect forms also differ in character from one another, and are found in completely different environments, it is expedient to consider them as representatives of two distinct grammatical categories: (1) the category of temporal relationship²⁰ consisting of the opposition perfect vs. simple, and (2) the category of aspect given by the opposition expanded vs. simple (perfect expanded vs. perfect). Further proof that the perfect and expanded forms are of a completely supplementary nature is the fact that both can be combined in a single form which shows not only a combination of the morphological markers of the two component elements, but a combination of their meanings as well. In both of these categories the first member

²⁰Smirnickij, Morfologija anglijskogo jazyka, § 128.

of the opposition is marked; the simple form is unmarked or neutral. The category of aspect will be of greater interest to us in our study of the translatability of Russian aspect, although temporal relationship will also prove to be of considerable importance.

3.2.3.1 The problem of finding a descriptive name for the marked aspect in English presents substantial difficulty. The terms 'progressive' and 'continuous' are not universally valid for all forms found in the expanded form. Some actions do not progress, e.g. He was living at the Waldorf Astoria, while others are iterative, e.g. I was seeing her too often. The expression "temporary aspect" used by Joos²¹ seems to be the most satisfactory, since it brings out the essential nature of the incompleteness of the event and the fact that it is usually associated with a time interval, or point, which is situated in the mainstream of the event. The unmarked member of the pair may be called the neutral or simple aspect.

²¹Joos, The English Verb, p. 106. It must be understood that although Joos' terminology has been borrowed for the marked aspect, one cannot fully subscribe to his definition of the temporary aspect. To define this aspect in terms of probability distribution seems of no apparent advantage, since beyond the point of time, or time interval, referred to in context, nothing can be said about the validity of the event.

3.2.3.2 A word or two must be said at this point regarding those verbs which are seldom, if ever, found in the expanded form. These 'status' verbs represent constant states or characteristics which have no need of the expanded form to bring out some particular stage of their development²² (cf. 3.2.2.1). If their lexical meaning is such that it is completely opposed to the grammatical meaning of the temporary aspect, and these verbs are consequently found only in environments which characterize the simple aspect, then we say that such verbs are uni-aspectual. That is, they are opposed to a zero-form of the temporary aspect. Many of them, however, can, under special circumstances, be found in the temporary aspect (notably with the adverb always). In these cases, vividness and intensity are expressed, and the verbs can no longer be considered uni-aspectual, e.g. She is always hearing things. Occasionally verbs are found in both the simple and expanded forms, yet representing entirely different sememes, e.g. I see the book; I am seeing her quite often. Here we have two homonyms, the first of which is a status verb and is uni-aspectual, the second being quite regular (meaning 'to encounter, to meet').

²²For a list of such verbs cf. H. Poutsma, A Grammar of Late Modern English (Groningen: P. Nordhoff, 1926), II, Sect. ii, 339-344.

3.3 In the preceding, an attempt has been made to categorize the various English verb forms on the basis of their inherent functional differences and those grammatical meanings which are least influenced by various contexts. This has led to the establishment of the four categories of tense, mode, aspect, and temporal relationship, our study being limited to forms in the active voice and indicative mood. What exactly the role of aspect is in other moods and voices is beyond the scope of this thesis and must be reserved for future research and investigation. In the next chapter, Russian verbal aspects will be examined for purposes of comparison with those categories just established.

CHAPTER IV

THE CATEGORY OF ASPECT IN RUSSIAN

4.0 The existence of a category of aspect in Russian has never been the subject of great doubt as in English. Most Russian verbs show the twofold morphological distinction of imperfective and perfective aspects, each of which is distinguishable from the other both in form and function. Together, the imperfective and perfective forms of a given sememe constitute a single aspectual pair, from which is derived the entire paradigm of the verb. Aspect may be considered to be the most basic category of the Russian verb since, in contrast to tense, person, mood, and voice, it is an essential characteristic of every form. Even infinitives and participles are morphologically and syntactically differentiated according to aspect, as are all other forms of the paradigm. Aspect in Russian is quite closely tied with the other verbal categories, just as in English. The category of tense is directly dependent upon the aspect of the verb, since each member of an aspectual pair is generally compatible only with certain tenses.¹ Likewise, each

¹V. M. Nikitevič, Grammatičeskie kategorii v sovremennom russskom jazyke (Moskva: Učpedgiz, 1963), p. 122.

aspectual form is capable of carrying, in certain contexts, distinct modal meanings. These interrelationships of the verbal categories complicate the study of aspects to a considerable degree, especially when one tries to define accurately the meanings of the perfective and imperfective forms. In addition to this, many authors have confused aspectual meaning with lexical meaning² or with the subjective notions of the speaker.³ The aim of this chapter will be to define as accurately as possible the Russian aspectual forms, to dispel the above-mentioned extraneous influences on their grammatical meanings, to examine any of the irregularities in the category of aspect, and to inspect the functions of the perfective and imperfective aspects in various tenses. A somewhat irregular approach will be used in defining the Russian marked aspectual form, since the definition is given first, then the functions of the forms are given in confirmation of our definition.

4.1.0 Before defining aspects in Russian, it is necessary to dispense with the distracting effect of

²G. K. Ul'janov, Značenijsa glagol'nych osnov v litovsko-slavjanskom jazyke (Varšava, 1895), II, quoted in V. V. Vinogradov, Russkij jazyk (Moskva: Učpedgiz, 1947), pp. 517-518.

³A. V. Isačenko, Grammatičeskij stroj russkogo jazyka: Morfologija, II (Bratislava: Izd. Slovackoj Akademii nauk, 1960), 132-133.

lexical meaning on aspectual meaning and on the formation of aspectual pairs. Given a set of paired verbs which differ from one another aspectually, e.g. писать - переписать, разделять - разделить, колоть - кольнуть, переезжать - переехать, мыть - вымыть, etc., we consider only those verbs with identical lexical meanings to be members of an aspectual pair. The others are eliminated despite the fact that they may be formed from the same root. Consequently, we can be sure that разделять - разделить and переезжать - переехать are aspectual pairs, whereas писать - переписать is not, since the perfective element has the additional meaningful prefix pere- 'to do over again'. The exclusion of this latter pair is further justified by the existence of another imperfective verb переписывать, which turns out to be identical lexically to переписать. Together переписать - переписывать form a true aspectual pair. The two remaining pairs pose a somewhat different problem. Both pairs show considerable uniformity in lexical meaning and contrast in aspect, which would seem to relegate them to the ranks of aspectual pairs. There is, however, a shade of meaning separating колоть from кольнуть; namely, one verb represents the action in general, while the other refers to a single, momentaneous action. The question arises, whether this is a lexical or grammatical difference. Similarly, those who refute the existence of

'empty' prefixes will assert that ВЫМЫТЬ differs not only in grammatical, but in lexical meaning from МЫТЬ. These problems can be resolved only through a close examination of all supposed aspectual pairs and their functions, and an extraction of the basic meanings of the perfective and imperfective aspects. Once this has been done, those doublets which appear contestable may be compared and contrasted for ultimate inclusion in, or exclusion from, the general scheme of aspectual pairs.

Another rather widely held belief concerning aspects, which creates considerable difficulty in defining them, is the claim that aspect is determined subjectively rather than objectively. That is, the aspect used in a given situation is dependent upon the speaker's view of the event. In the majority of cases when this attitude is taken, it is supported by isolated statements completely alienated from their original environments. If one considers, for example, the two sentences: я это делал, я это сделал, it might certainly appear as though the speaker is choosing the aspect used. If, however, a longer narrative or even a somewhat longer context is investigated, it soon becomes evident that aspect is strictly determined in accordance with the dictates of the given linguistic system, which in this case reflect certain manifestations of the temporal distribution of

the event. Cf. Когда он вошел в мою комнату, я читал газету; Когда он вошел в мою комнату, я сделал ему чашку чая. In these examples, any change in the aspects of the verbs would completely alter the meanings of the sentences, causing the hearer to understand something entirely different from that originally intended. The aspect used in a given social situation is prescribed by the generally accepted rules of the language in question, and any deviation from these rules causes a breakdown in communication. In cases where no real event is being depicted, the rules of the language still govern the use of aspects, and the speaker is forced to use either the perfective or imperfective aspect, depending on the impression which he wishes to convey. This may be exemplified in constructions where the infinitive is employed, e.g. Я не знал, что отвечать на её вопрос, or as Mazon counters: Я не знал, что ответить на её вопрос.⁴ The aspectual pair отвечать - ответить, however, shows some rather irregular features,⁵ so let us borrow another example, quoted by Mazon, which illustrates the different

⁴André Mazon, Emplois des aspects du verbe russe (Paris: 1914), quoted in Ju. S. Maslova, Voprosy glagol'nogo vida: Sbornik (Moskva: Izd. inostrannoj literatury, 1962).

⁵Cf. Zbigniew Folejewski, "Otvečat' - otvetit': A Point in Russian Aspectology," Slavic Word, No. 2 (December, 1953), 377-380.

usages of the aspects in the infinitive:

" . . . Я чувствовал, что владеть я этим телом не могу, что оно не мое и что она может распоряжаться им, как хочет, а хочет распорядиться им не так, как я хочу. И я ничего не могу сделать, ни ей, ни ему."⁶ (Толстой, Крейцерова соната)

It may be argued that in these infinitive constructions aspect is chosen subjectively, depending upon the way in which the speaker wishes to view the action, yet this is not the case. The speaker chooses the aspect in accordance with the rules of his language, these rules governing the impression conveyed to the listener. The fact that aspect is objectively ascertained is further supported by the interdependence between aspect and the lexical character of the verb itself. We shall see later that certain verbs denoting momentaneous actions or continuous states are fixed with regard to aspect, and do not generally take part in the widespread scheme of imperfective-perfective aspectual pairs. This precludes the possibility of any choice on the part of the speaker in determining the aspectual form to be used.

4.1.1 This brings us finally to the definition of the Russian imperfective and perfective aspects.

The main function of the perfective aspect is the limiting or setting aside of the notion of duration of the action and the concentration of attention on one of the

⁶Italics are those of Mazon.

moments of the process as its boundary.
The representation of an action in progress,
not limited by the thought of any boundary
of the process as a whole, is the basic,
general meaning of the imperfective aspect.⁷

Closely associated with these ideas are the notions of result or lack of result of the action. They may be considered as secondary aspectual meanings generated by the main concepts of boundedness or unboundedness. Other meanings which have been attributed to the Russian aspects are semelfactiveness, iterativeness, continuity, discontinuity, etc. In the great majority of cases, these additional meanings are brought out by context, or by the lexical meaning of the verb itself. As a result, they are better not regarded as characteristic of either the imperfective or perfective aspects in Russian. Often, those verbs which are lexically characterized as being either semelfactive or iterative do not take part in aspectual oppositions. Thus, our previously introduced pair колоть - кольнуть cannot be accepted as an aspectual pair, although it shows a difference in aspect, since the suffix -nu- in the second verb carries with it a semelfactive meaning in addition to the regular perfective meaning. The two verbs differ lexically as well as grammatically. There are a large number of similar verbs which show only one aspectual form. These will be

⁷Vinogradov, Russkij jazyk, p. 498. (Translation mine.)

discussed after a brief review of the structural means of forming aspectual pairs.

4.2 The Formation of Aspectual Pairs

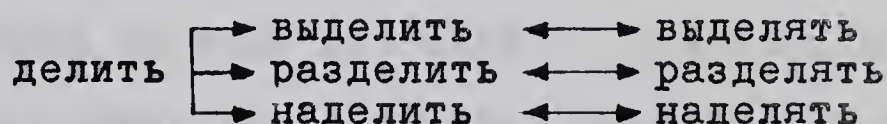
4.2.1 The first, and most productive means of forming aspectual pairs is by suffixation. In fact, some linguists consider suffixes as the basic markers of aspect in Russian,⁸ in contrast to prefixes which usually change the lexical meaning of the verb. In most cases suffixation is used to form the imperfective element of an aspectual pair from the basic perfective verb, e.g. переделать - переделывать. There are basically two types of imperfectivization through suffixation: (1) primary, which involves the formation of imperfectives by changing the suffix of the simple perfective verb, e.g. решить - решать, and (2) secondary, dealing with the suffixation of prefixed perfective verbs, e.g. убить - убивать.⁹ The first type is relatively rare since simple verbs in the majority of cases do not form simple aspectual pairs with one another. The second type is much more common and shows, among other things, the care that must be taken in differentiating between the formation of lexically new verbs by prefixation (словообразование) and the formation of aspectual correlates (формообразование)

⁸Nikitevič, Grammatičeskie kategorii. . . , p. 128.

⁹Isačenko, Grammatičeskij stroj. . . , p. 176.

by suffixation. The following schemes taken from Nikitevič¹⁰ illustrate rather well the relationship between primary and secondary imperfectivization (→ or ← refer to the formation of lexically distinct verbs, ↔ to aspectual pairs).

- 1) Aspectual pairs with an unproductive base which does not enter into aspectual relationships:

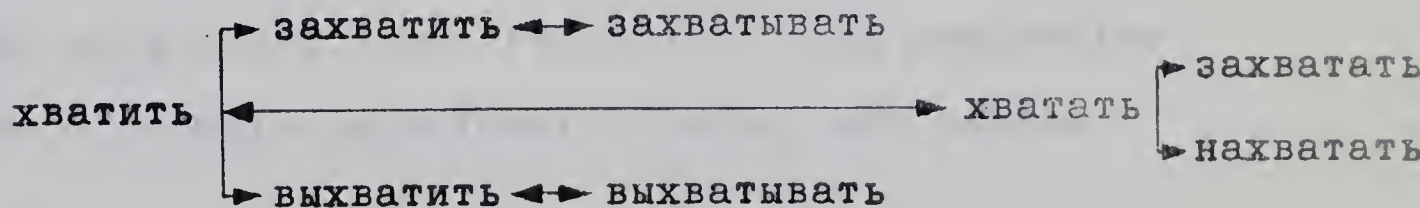


- 2) Aspectual pairs with an unproductive base which enters into aspectual relationships.

These may be subdivided further into: a) those in which the aspectual relationships between the productive pairs are the same as those of the unproductive base:



- b) those in which the aspectual relationships between the productive pairs are not the same as those of the unproductive base:



¹⁰Nikitevič, Grammaticiĥeskie kategorii. . . ,
p. 130.

There are only three suffixes used in the formation of these secondary imperfectives: -iva-, -va-, and -a-, only the first of which is productive.¹¹ Changes in the derivative stem often accompany these suffixes, e.g. stress changes: переписа́ть - перепи́сывать; root alternations: выздороветь - выздора́вливать, добавить - добавлять. Suffixation does not seem to be a productive means of forming perfective aspectual correlates, although most perfective verbs do show suffixes of one kind or another. Most common of these is -i-, which takes part in aspectual oppositions of simple verbs whose forms are in -a-, e.g. реши́ть - реша́ть.

4.2.2 Ordinarily, perfective counterparts are formed from imperfective verbs by means of prefixation. If the prefix retains some of its original lexical meaning when added to the imperfective stem, a new verb rather than an aspectual correlate is formed (cf. 4.2.1, examples 2a, 2b, with single-headed arrows). Those prefixes which, in the passing of time, have lost their primal meaning (it being assumed that all prefixes originally had some lexical meaning, usually that of the preposition from which they originated) and are used to form perfective correlates of simple imperfective verbs, are called

¹¹Grammatika russkogo jazyka (Moskva: Izd. AN SSSR, 1953), I, 432.

'empty' prefixes (les préverbes vides).¹² For verbs which have more than one meaning (more than one sememe) it is customary for the prefixed form to duplicate all the meanings of the derivative stem, e.g. каменеть has three basic meanings and two shades of meaning (represented as 3 + 2 in brackets) which are reproduced in окаменеть. Similarly портить - испортить (4 + 1).¹³ Occasionally, however, a polysememic verb may have more than one prefixed perfective counterpart, depending upon the sememe duplicated in the latter form, e.g. глохнуть has two perfectives: оглохнуть, заглохнуть. In such cases it would be less confusing if we simply considered the original form to be several separate verbs, and segregated them from one another, each with its own perfective correlate, e.g. глохнуть I 'становиться глухим' - оглохнуть; глохнуть II 'слабеть, затихать, исчезать' - заглохнуть; глохнуть III 'личать, зарастать сорняком' - заглохнуть. Thus, we have three distinct verbs and three aspectual pairs. It is absolutely necessary that this association of one verb - one sememe be established in every case when aspectual

¹²Vinogradov, Russkij jazyk, p. 513.

¹³A. N. Tichonov, "Prefiksals'noe obrazovanie vidovyh form v sovremennom russkom jazyke," Russkij jazyk v škole, No. 4 (1964), pp. 16-20.

pairs are being studied, otherwise endless confusion may result.¹⁴

4.2.3 A third means of differentiating the aspects of aspectual pairs is by changing the stress. There are only two verbal roots which show a distinguishing stress in the infinitive: -сы́пать - -сыпа́ть and -ре́зать - -реза́ть. The characterizing difference in stress continues throughout the paradigms of compounds of these verbs, although it serves as the distinguishing feature of aspect only in the infinitives, e.g. насы́пать, -плю, -плешь, . . . - насыпа́ть, -аю, -аешь, In the personal forms, these verbs are differentiated not only by stress but by a morphophonemic change in the root as seen above.

4.2.4 There are a number of Russian verbs which show aspectual pairs formed from different roots, e.g. бра́ть - взя́ть, говори́ть - сказа́ть, кла́сть - положи́ть, etc. Often simple (unprefixed) verbs form their correlates with verbs of a completely different etymological origin but which are close in meaning. Prefixed or compound forms of these same verbs may show the same difference in the root, or one or the other root may be chosen

¹⁴The same problem was observed in English, e.g. see I 'to get an impression through the eyes' is uni-aspectual, while see II 'to meet, encounter' has the aspectual correlate be seeing, cf. 3.2.3.2.

exclusively for the establishment of both elements of the aspectual pair, e.g. класть - положить, накладывать - наложить; брать - взять, забирать - забрать.¹⁵ These formations correspond to the types of primary and secondary imperfectivization discussed in 4.2.1, although in this case it would be erroneous to call them imperfectivizations, since it is difficult to say which correlate was formed from the other.

4.2.5 It is worth mentioning two other verb pairs at this point, which show aspectual distinctions by a combination of both suffixation and prefixation. These are купить, which has the unusual prefixed imperfective counterpart покупать, and вешать, which is paired with the perfective form повесить.

This completes our study of the main types of aspectual pairs and a few irregular forms. However, this system of associating two lexically equivalent verbs in an aspectual pair and forming from this pair the whole paradigm of the verb is by no means universal in Russian.

4.3 Single-Aspectual and Dual-Aspectual Verbs

4.3.1 It has been pointed out by various scholars that there are a number of verbs which have only one form, yet which may be used in contexts characterizing both the imperfective and the perfective aspects. These

¹⁵Cf. Isačenko, Grammatičeskij stroj. . . , pp. 200-206.

verbs are generally referred to as dual-aspectual (двуви́довые). Unfortunately, the term is somewhat misleading, since most of these verbs show dual-aspectuality only in certain forms of the paradigm; namely, infinitive forms, past tense forms, past active participles, imperatives, and present tense forms.¹⁶ The other forms of the paradigm are single-aspectual, e.g. the present active participle is always imperfective, whereas the past passive participle is always perfective, etc. It must also be noted that even those forms which are capable of being used in either aspect often indicate a preference for one or the other. For example, most dual-aspectual verbs when found in the past form are perfective in aspect, while present forms (not necessarily present in tense) are most often imperfective.¹⁷ The whole mass of dual-aspectual verbs may be subdivided into two groups: (1) those of Russian or Church Slavonic origin, and (2) verbs borrowed from West European languages, or new Russian verbs formed with foreign suffixes. Group one consists of a small number of verbs such as жени́ть(ся), заимствоватъ, обещатъ, приветствоватъ, etc., which differ from one another in

¹⁶I. P. Mučnik, "Dvuvídivoye glagoly v russskom jazyke," Voprosy kul'tury reči, vyp. 3, 1961, pp. 94-95.

¹⁷Nikitevič, Grammatičeskie kategorii. . ., pp. 143-144.

the degree of dual-aspectuality which they show. Verbs such as женить(ся) possess all the possible dual-aspectual forms given above, while приветствовать is much more limited in its usage. The second group is characterized by the suffixes -ova-, -izova-, -irova-, -izirova-, -ficirova-,¹⁸ most of the verbs being of foreign origin, e.g. арестовать, децентрализовать, ампутировать, акклиматизировать, мистифицировать, etc. The productivity of these suffixes is demonstrated by the fact that they are used in the formation of new verbs from Russian roots, e.g. яровизировать, большевизировать, etc. The newness of most of these formations has also resulted in the existence of many doublets, where either of two suffixes can be used in the same verb without a change in its lexical meaning or in its dual-aspectuality, e.g. вулканиз(ир)овать, канализ(ир)овать, кристаллиз(ир)овать, etc. Still other dual-aspectual verbs have evolved somewhat further and have taken on a prefixed perfective aspectual correlate, thus eliminating some of the ambiguity which results from their ability to function in different contexts. The original verb, however, can still be used in both

¹⁸For the origins of these suffixes and their uses cf. T. F. Magner, "Aspectual Variations in Russian and Serbo-Croatian," Language, XXXIX (1963), 621-630.

perfective and imperfective contexts. For example Ožegov lists формулировать as both imperfective and perfective, giving at the same time the perfective correlate сформулировать.¹⁹ The furthest developed are those verbs which have formed prefixed perfective correlates and have since dropped the dual-aspectuality of the original form, leaving it purely imperfective. The remainder of the verbs in group two are either so new that their usage has not yet required a strict morphological distinction of aspectual form, or their lexical meaning is such that both the concepts of progression and result are latent within a single form, requiring only a given context to reveal the required aspect.

The existence of dual-aspectual verbs acts as additional evidence of the fact that aspectual pairs do not differ from one another lexically. Here we have one and the same form being used sometimes in the perfective aspect, sometimes in the imperfective aspect. For purposes of clarity, it might be expedient to consider any dual-aspectual verb such as казнить to consist of the opposition казнить I - казнить P. Thus, despite the lack of overt differences, these verbs can be made to

¹⁹S. I. Ožegov, Slovar' russkogo jazyka (Moskva: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo inostrannykh i nacional'nykh slovarej, 1960).

fit quite regularly into the category of aspect based on the opposition perfective vs. imperfective.

4.3.2 Quite another problem is that posed by the so-called single-aspectual (uni-aspectual) verbs. These are verbs which, by virtue of their lexical meaning, are found in contexts permitting the usage of only imperfective or perfective aspects, but not both. Since these verbs do not seemingly take part in the opposition perfective vs. imperfective, it is questionable whether they should be included in the Russian grammatical category of aspect. Yet it will be recalled that exactly the same phenomenon occurred in English, where 'status' verbs were found in certain cases to be lexically incompatible with the temporary aspect. In that case they were included in the category of aspect because they were located only in those environments characterizing the simple aspect, and their general lexical meaning could be opposed to the temporary aspect. An identical procedure can be used with Russian uni-aspectual verbs. Their grammatical (or lexico-grammatical) meaning is clearly either perfective or imperfective, with no latent potentiality of being used in both aspects, as was the case with dual-aspectual verbs. If we wish to preserve the notion of perfective - imperfective oppositions with such verbs, then it must be affirmed that single-aspectual verbs are opposed in their lexico-

grammatical meaning to the whole idea of the other aspect.

4.3.2.1 There are, as mentioned before, both imperfective and perfective single-aspectual verbs. Unpaired imperfective verbs seem to make up the larger of the two groups. It includes many simple verbs along with those formed by prefixation and/or suffixation. The simple verbs usually provide a basis for the formation of new prefixed and aspectually paired verbs (cf. 4.2.1, type 1). Included in this group are verbs such as нести, идти, значить, нуждаться, бежать, лить, etc.²⁰

Other single-aspectual imperfective verbs formed by a combination of prefixation and suffixation are:

приплясывать, приговаривать, разлучивать, перестреливаться, покашливать, насвистывать, etc.²¹ There are also a number of imperfective, single-aspectual verbs, ^{often} formed from nouns by means of the suffix -ova-/-eva-, which "strictly retain within themselves the general meaning of non-resultativeness and duration."²² Such verbs are:

²⁰The existence of single-aspectual verbs is closely associated with the existence of 'empty' prefixes. Those linguists who deny the possibility of aspectual pairs formed by prefixation must consequently assume that both elements are single-aspectual.

²¹Cf. E. A. Zemskaja "Типы одновидовых приставочных глаголов в современном русском языке," Исследования по грамматике русского языка: Сборник (Moskva: Izd. AN SSSR, 1955), pp. 5-41.

²²Nikitevič, Грамматические категории. . ., p. 147.

действовать, квартировать, карикатурить, кинематографировать, etc.

4.3.2.2 Unpaired or single-aspectual perfective verbs are usually marked by the momentaneous suffix -nu-, or by prefixes retaining temporal or quantitative meanings such as: voz-, vz-, za-, po-, ot-, pro-, pere-, iz-, u-. Thus, the verbs глянуть, кануть, очнуться, возненавидеть, возлежать, заиграть, заговорить, побежать, повести, отсветить, отработать, проспать, проплыть, посидеть, поиграть, перезимовать, переночевать, износить, иззябнуть, усадить, etc., are all modes of action which do not allow the formation of imperfective aspectual correlates. A second type of unpaired perfective verb is the double-prefixed, or "stage three"²³ perfective, e.g. понаехать, повыбрасывать, позакрывать, etc. In addition to the above verbs, there are a few which show neither the suffix -nu-, nor the above-mentioned prefixes. These are: очутиться, поймать, осклабить(ся), контузить, and a few others. The prefixes felt to be existent in the first three verbs of this short list cannot really be separated from the roots, since the unprefixed forms no longer exist in contemporary Russian.

The study of Russian aspectual pairs and their

²³Cf. A. Vilgelminina, The Russian Verb: Aspect and Voice (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1963), pp. 46-47.

forms showed that the category of aspect is determined by the opposition of perfective (marked) vs. imperfective and that most verbs tend to form aspectual pairs in accordance with this opposition. There are, however, certain verbs which are found only in one form. Some of them show the characteristics of both aspects, depending upon the environment in which they are found (dual-aspectual verbs), others appear only in one aspectual context (single-aspectual verbs). Neither of these two groups of verbs proves to be a divergency or contradiction of the fact that aspect is a feature of all Russian verbs and verb forms.

The Functions of Russian Aspectual Forms

4.4 In this section the usages of the perfective and imperfective aspects will be investigated along with their association, if any, with the other grammatical categories of the verb. Again, as in English, the forms studied will be divided into 'tenses'²⁴ and will be limited to the active voice, indicative mood. The imperfective aspect shows a ternary distinction of tense forms, two of which are synthetic, one analytic. The perfective aspect shows only two synthetic forms.

²⁴This term is used only to designate form. The question whether these tense forms reflect real distinctions in time will be answered upon analysis of their functions.

4.4.1 Past Imperfective

Form: Ending suffix {-l- + -Ø, -a, -o, -i} ,
where /-l-/ alternates with /-Ø-/ in some verbs
without a stem formant suffix, e.g. нести - нес,
несла, несло, несли.

Function: Temporally this form represents an action which
is completely separated from the moment of
speech.²⁵ The action itself is completely
neutral with respect to the attainment of a
boundary or result,²⁶ and consequently may
reveal various shades of meaning consistent with
this definition, depending on contextual
conditions, e.g.

1) Single continuous actions in the past:

А сама она смотрела на воду. (Фраерман, Начало)

2) Repeated or iterative actions in the past:

По вечерам все собирались в Интернациональном
клубе моряков. (Кассиль, Вторая половинка песни)

3) Pluperfect actions continuing up to a reference
point in the past:

Я работал уже два часа, когда они вернулись.

(Качалова, Грамматика английского языка)

²⁵Isačenko, Grammatičeskij stroj. . . , p. 426.

²⁶Vinogradov, Russkij jazyk , p. 557.

4) Indirect past imperfective:

Он сказал, что никогда не разговаривал с ней.

The length of the action in 1) is usually the same as that of the corresponding form in similar contexts in the present tense.²⁷

Similarly, repeated or iterative actions such as 2) are of the same nature as their counterparts in the present tense. Because there is no reference in this form to the attainment of a result, the past imperfective is never used in narratives to represent successive events, "but situates them all on one plane."²⁸

4.4.2 Present Imperfective

Form: Shows two sets of personal endings:

a) /-u, -iś, -it, -im, -it'i, -at/

b) /-u, -oś, -ot, -om, -ot'i, -ut/

along with a few unproductive forms, e.g. есть, хотеть, быть, etc.

Function: This form may show various temporal relationships to the moment of speech, corresponding almost identically to those of the simple present form in English. The present imperfective is also capable of representing

²⁷Nikitevič, Grammatičeskie kategorii. . . , pp. 167-168.

²⁸Vinogradov, Russkij jazyk, p. 556.

an action in progress at the moment of speech, a function which was exclusive to the English expanded form. The usages of this form are the following:

1) Action in progress at the moment of speech:

"Поздравьте меня, я умираю." (Олеша, Лиомпа

2) Actions of a longer or shorter duration which encompass the moment of speech, although not necessarily corresponding with it. The action itself may be iterative or continuous, representing general truths or characteristics.²⁹

"Женщины! Женщины! кто их поймёт? Их улыбки противоречат их взорам, их слова обещают и манят, а звук их голоса отталкивает. . . . То они в минуту постигают и угадают самую потаённую нашу мысль, то не понимают самых ясных намёков. . . " (Лермонтов, Герой нашего времени)

3) For verbs expressing concrete actions, the present imperfective form may be used to indicate futurity or future assurance.

Значит едешь? - спросила наконец Анастасия

²⁹Vinogradov considers this unbounded temporal usage to be the basic grammatical meaning of the imperfective form. Cf. Vinogradov, Russkij jazyk, p. 571.

Федоровна. - Еду, Натенька. - И когда?

- С первым поездом. (Марков, Соль земли)

4) Dramatic present of past continuous actions:

Вчера я был у товарища. Сидим мы, разговариваем,
вдруг слышим кто-то стучится. (Pulkina, A Short
Russian Reference Grammar)

This stylistic function is the only case where the imperfective can be used in past narratives to represent successive events.

5) Present perfect of actions continuing up to the moment of speech, but having started sometime in the past:

Я работаю уже два часа. (Pulkina, A Short
Russian. . .)

6) Reported momentary actions (sports reports, on-the-spot broadcasts, etc.):

Судья дает свисток. (Isačenko, Grammatičeskij
stroj. . .)

7) Typical or characteristic actions in the past used as an example of what always happened before, and would happen again:

Это был молодой парень, даже красивый собой,
но производивший какое-то неприятное
впечатление на всех нас: скрытный,
подозрительный, нахмуренный, ни с кем не
говорит, глядит исподлобья, от всех таится,

точно всех подозревает. (Достоевский, Записки из мертвого дома)

8) Indirect present imperfective:

Путру рано отправился он к частному,
но сказали, что спит. . . (Гоголь,
Шинель)

4.4.3 Future Imperfective

Form: Future of byt' + infinitive (imperfective)

Function: The general function of this form is the representation of the progression or simple existence of some event in the future, with no tie to the present. Occasionally there may be a slight modal meaning implied, although it is not nearly so strongly felt as that of the corresponding periphrastic future in English, e.g.

Напрасно вы будете искать хоть в одном лице следов суетливости. (Л. Толстой quoted by Исаченко, Грамматический строй. . .)

As Isačenko points out, the meaning of вы будете искать in this sentence is very close to the subjunctive вы бы искали.³⁰ The future imperfective form itself cannot be grouped with other analytic forms such as

³⁰Isačenko, Grammatičeskij stroj. . ., p. 445.

stat' + infinitive or načat' + infinitive, since these latter forms differ not only in usage, but also in lexical meaning from the form with byt'.³¹ Stat' is used only with animate subjects,³² and both načat' and stat' add the meaning of inception of the action when used with the imperfective infinitive. Thus, we can assume that this is almost a pure future form with the imperfective aspectual meaning of incompleteness. The main functions are the following:

- 1) Action in progress at a given time or in a given time interval in the future:

Решено было, что юрист будет отбывать своё заключение под строжайшим надзором. . .

(Чехов, Пари)

- 2) Repeated actions or characteristics in the future:

- А по утрам к нам будет приходить девушка,

³¹Nikitevič, Grammatičeskie kategorii. . ., p. 162. Nikitevič also feels that byt' differs from stat' and načat' in aspect, the former being imperfective, the latter both perfective. This, however, is not entirely true. Cf. James Ferrell, "On the Aspects of byt' and on the Position of the Periphrastic Imperfective Future in Contemporary Literary Russian," Slavic Word, No. 2 (1953), pp. 362-376.

³²Isačenko, Grammatičeskij stroj. . ., p. 444.

дальняя родственница соседей. (С. Антонов,
Анкета)

3) Future perfect of incompleted actions:

Я буду работать два часа, когда они
вернутся. (Качалова, Грамматика английского
языка)

4.4.4 Past Perfective

Form: Ending suffix {-l- + -Ø, -а, -о, -и} ,
where /-l-/ alternates with /-Ø-/ in some verbs
without a stem formant suffix.

Function: These forms differ from the corresponding
imperfective verbs only aspectually. That is,
they are related temporally to the same past
sphere, differing from the imperfective forms
only in the fact that they refer to an action
which has attained some boundary in its
development. This aspectual meaning gives
rise to another meaning of temporal relation-
ship, which is identical to that of the
English present perfect form of 'process'
verbs. In general, the usages are as follows:

1) To represent single completed or bounded
actions in the past, which follow one another
chronologically (plot-advancing events):

Вдруг голова коренника замоталась, уши
наострились, он зафыркал, заворошился.

- Но-но-но-ноо! внезапно заорал во всё горло
Филофей, и приподнялся, и замахал кнутом.

(Тургенев, Стучит)

2) For past completed actions which preceded
some reference point in the past:

Я уже написал письмо к пяти часам. (Качалова,
Грамматика английского языка)

3) For actions which occurred in the past, yet
which show a resulting state or condition in
the present (corresponding to the English
present perfect form):

Я открыл окно. (The window is still open.)

cf. Я открывал окно. (The window has since been
shut.) (Pulkina, A Short Russian Reference
Grammar)

The perfect and pluperfect meanings are
usually found in utterances where the past
perfective form is accompanied by adverbs,
or adverbial phrases such as: как, уже, до
сих (тех) пор, за последнее время, etc., e.g.

Ей отворили дверь, я не узнал её, как она
помолодела. (Л. Толстой, Холстомер)

4) Indirect past perfective:

Так что наконец Акакий Акакиевич раз в жизни
захотел показать характер и сказал наотрез,
что ему нужно лично видеть самого частного,

1. The first of these is the fact that the

second of these is the fact that the

third of these is the fact that the

fourth of these is the fact that the

fifth of these is the fact that the

sixth of these is the fact that the

seventh of these is the fact that the

eighth of these is the fact that the

ninth of these is the fact that the

tenth of these is the fact that the

eleventh of these is the fact that the

twelfth of these is the fact that the

thirteenth of these is the fact that the

fourteenth of these is the fact that the

fifteenth of these is the fact that the

sixteenth of these is the fact that the

seventeenth of these is the fact that the

eighteenth of these is the fact that the

nineteenth of these is the fact that the

twentieth of these is the fact that the

twenty-first of these is the fact that the

twenty-second of these is the fact that the

twenty-third of these is the fact that the

twenty-fourth of these is the fact that the

twenty-fifth of these is the fact that the

что они не смеют его не допустить, что он
пришел из департамента за казенным делом, а
что вот как он на них пожалуется, так вот
тогда они увидят. (Гоголь, Шинель)

4.4.5 Present Perfective

Form: Shows the same personal endings as the present imperfective: a) /-u, -iš, -it, -im, -it'i, -at/, b) /-u, -oš, -ot, -om, -ot'i, -ut/, along with a few exceptions, e.g. compounds of есть, дать, etc.

Function: Since the perfective aspect usually characterizes actions as being bounded, or as having attained some goal, the present perfective form in most cases is incompatible with the present tense. It is used most often to refer to an action which is to be completed in the future, although some connection with the present may exist (for instance, it may be in the process of completion).³³ Actual processes going on at the moment of speech, however, can be represented only by the present imperfective form.³⁴ The tie of the present perfective with the moment of speech gives rise

³³Isačenko, Grammatičeskij stroj. . ., p. 448.
Vinogradov, Russkij jazyk. . ., p. 574.
Nikitevič, Grammatičeskie kategorii. . .,

³⁴Isačenko, Grammatičeskij stroj. . ., p. 448.

to numerous modal meanings which are very similar in nature to those of the English periphrastic future. These are included in the following uses of this form:

1) Assurance of completed action in future:

- Я сейчас позову моего мужа, - вскрикнула немка и ушла. . . (Гоголь, Невский проспект)

2) Present perfect of reiteration or generality (often found with byvaet or byvalo):

Окликнешь иногда его, из любопытства, спросишь о чем-нибудь, он тотчас же ответит и даже как-то почтительно, не по-арестантски, но всегда коротко, не разговорчиво; глядит же на вас, как десятилетний ребенок. (Достоевский, Записки. . .)

The modal meaning which arises from these forms is one of potential in the past due to previous repetition of such events. The speaker assures us that it happened often before and would happen again under similar circumstances in the past.

3) Almost pure future (in this case, the event in the present perfective is used as a reference point according to which the other actions are temporally oriented):

- Слушай, - позвал ребёнка больной, - слушай. . .

Ты знаешь, когда я умру, ничего не останется.

(Олеша, Лиомпа)

4) Present perfect of potential. This usage is very similar to that in 2), the only difference being that in the earlier instance the potential of recurrence stems from previous repetition of the event, whereas in this case there seems to be no indication that the action ever occurred, e.g.

- И еще хочу прибавить, что когда эта молодежь, эта милая молодежь, захочет сказать что-нибудь такое умное и проникнутое, то вдруг слишком искренно и наивно покажет лицом, что 'вот, дескать, я говорю тебе теперь умное и проникнутое,' - и не то чтоб из тщеславия. . . -

(Достоевский, Кроткая)

- Соврешь - до правды дойдешь. - (Достоевский, Прест. и наказ.)

5) Dramatic present historic (most often with the particle как to indicate sudden, intense actions in the past):

- А больная ко мне лицом лежит, и руки разметала, бедняжка. Я подошел. . . Как она вдруг раскроет глаза и уставится на меня.

(Тургенев, Уездный лекарь)

6) Future perfect (for actions to be completed

in the future before some other event):

Я уже кончу свою работу, когда он придет.

(Качалова, Грамматика английского языка)

7) Indirect present perfective:

- Я сказала, что пойду за носиком, а Минаев

сказал, что никаких носиков не нужно, а я

сказала, что вы велели, а он сказал, что меня

убьёт. . . (Нагибин, Дети лепят из снега)

It should be noted that in the second and fourth functions (reiteration and potentiality) there does not seem to be as strict a subjugation to tense as in the other usages. The present perfective of potential is often used in sayings of universal and a-temporal validity, while the present perfect of reiteration can be used with either byvaet or byvalo to indicate that what has been (or was) happening all along is (was) bound to happen again. The strong modal meanings inherent in almost all the usages of the present perfective form, and the great flexibility with which it is employed in all tenses, leads one to believe that here we have a form in which the aspectual meaning has evolved stylistically to such an extent, that new grammatical meanings, previously considered incompatible with the perfective aspect (repetition and generality), are implied. In reality, the opposite is true. The future usage of the present perfective is probably the

most recent, historically, while the other functions may be traced further back in time.³⁵ Its employment in this capacity, however, gradually assumed predominance in Russian and Polish, while in Czech and Slovak the other usages are still of greater importance.³⁶

4.5 With this analysis of the usages of aspectual forms in different tenses, the meanings of the Russian imperfective and perfective aspects may be more clearly formulated, and some indication can be given of the additional meanings brought out by context. The previous definition (from Vinogradov), which asserts that the perfective aspect concentrates on the limiting of the action, either by its completion or the attainment of a boundary in its development, can be seen to be true for all the functions of the perfective aspect discussed in this chapter. Even in the present perfect of iteration, each typical episode described by a perfective form of the verb is regarded as having been completed, otherwise the imperfective is used. Note the mixing of forms according to aspectual meaning in the following excerpt picturing typical iterated actions:

³⁵Cf. Didier Castagnou, "Le présent perfectif slave n'est-il qu'un futur?" Rocznik Slawistyczny - Revue Slavistique, XXIII, Cz. I (1964), 27-45.

³⁶Isačenko, Grammatičeskij stroj. . ., pp. 454-460.

И надо сказать, усердно исполнял он свою
обязанность: на дворе у него никогда ни щепок
не валялось, ни сору; застрянет ли в грязную
пору где-нибудь с бочкой отданная под его
начальство разбитая кляча-водовозка, он
только двинет плечом - и не только телегу,
самое лошадь спихнет с места; дрова ли
примется он колоть, топор так и звенит у
него, как стекло, и летят во все стороны
осколки и поленья, . . . (Тургенев, Муму)

Under the proper contextual conditions, a strong modal meaning may be brought out in the present perfective, yet this, too, is quite in accordance with our definition of the perfective aspect. The imperfective aspect is neutral with respect to completion or attainment of a boundary, and is thus used either for descriptions of actions in progress, general characteristics, or repeated actions. Together, and in opposition to one another, the imperfective and perfective verb forms constitute the Russian category of aspect. Virtually all Russian verbs are marked by aspect, some of them entering into aspectual pairs, others having a single form for both aspects, and still others showing only one form and one aspect in all situations. The only verbs which may be considered to be outside the aspectual system (or at most sub-aspectual) are the unproductive, unprefixed verbs with the suffix {-iva-} such as хаживать, говаривать, сиживать, etc.,

which refer to iterated actions in the past. Their usages, being limited to the past tense, show only one form and, as such, they do not form a regular imperfective paradigm. At one time these verbs were quite widespread, but today their iterative meaning has been incorporated into the imperfective aspect, and as a result only a few remnants remain today in the literary language.

Consequently, it would seem better to exclude them from our aspectual category, since they neither function as normal imperfectives, nor enter into oppositions with perfective forms.

CHAPTER V

A COMPARISON OF THE ASPECTUAL CATEGORIES IN RUSSIAN AND ENGLISH

5.0 In order to compare adequately the categories of aspect in Russian and English, it will be useful to review briefly our definitions and establish the existence of any theoretical similarities or differences. The subsequent investigation of individual forms and their translations from one language to the other will either confirm or disprove the conclusions which we have drawn. Most of the data on translation has been taken from an analysis of the 1396 verb forms (excluding participles, gerunds, and forms of byt') in Gogol's Sinel'^V and their corresponding counterparts in two English sources.¹ Other examples were taken from Dostoevskij's Zapiski iz mērtvogo doma and the sources used in the previous chapter. It was hardly possible to derive from these works statistical

¹Nicolai V. Gogol, Tales of Good and Evil, translated by David Magarshack (New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, Doubleday & Co. Inc., 1957), pp. 233-271.
Nicolas Gogol, "The Cloak," translated by Isabel Hapgood, Great Russian Short Stories, ed. Stephen Graham, (London: Ernest Benn Ltd., 1959), pp. 56-89. Translations from the former source will be followed by the initials D. M., from the latter by I. H.

data which would give an indication of the frequency of translation of a given Russian verb form by a given English form. The translations are not exactly literal, but contain many stylistic features which naturally change the corresponding verb forms.² Consequently, an attempt was made to select for analysis only those sentences in which the active voice in Russian was translated by the active voice in English. This material has provided us with the information necessary for the organization of the tables of correspondence of Russian and English verb forms and the criteria determining these associations.

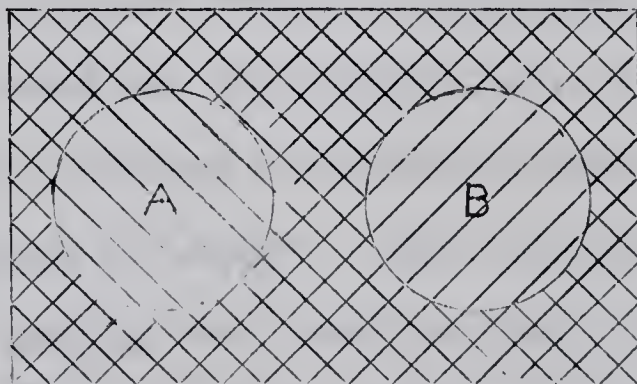
5.1 It should be reiterated at the very outset that grammatical categories are determined within specific languages and are valid only for those languages in which they are found to exist (cf. 2.3). It has been established that English verb forms display certain grammatical characteristics which are best categorized as aspect. In Russian, the existence of a grammatical category of aspect has long been recognized, yet it seems that this category differs quite essentially from its counterpart in English. The basis for this dissimilarity is that the marked form

²Chief among these are the frequent usages of the passive voice in English to correspond to the active voice in Russian, and the use of impersonal forms in Russian much more often than in English. Cf. N. V. Aristov, Osnovy perevoda (Moskva: Izd. literatury na inostrannykh jazykach, 1959), p. 21.

in English (temporary aspect) characterizes an action as being in progress with respect to some reference point in time, whereas the marked Russian form (perfective aspect) distinguishes an action as having attained some boundary in its development. In effect, the two are almost opposites, for an action in progress at any given moment or in a given interval is necessarily unbounded, while one which has or will have achieved a limiting point in its evolution cannot be progressing any longer. Consequently, the translation of a verb of the marked form in either Russian or English is usually consummated by a verb of the unmarked form or by a completely different category in the target language. The ability of the unmarked forms in both languages to accommodate the grammatical meaning of the marked form of the source language stems from the fact that unmarked aspectual forms are defined negatively with respect to a certain characteristic, allowing them to take on any aspectual meaning other than that of the marked form with which they are paired. The simple aspect in English, representing non-progressive or non-continuous actions can easily reconcile itself with the meaning of the Russian perfective aspect. Similarly, the Russian imperfective aspect, being unqualified with respect to the attainment of some boundary in the development of an action, very adequately translates the English temporary aspect.

While the unmarked forms are capable of translating the marked forms of the other language, they are also able to translate one another. This follows logically since they are both the negatives of different things, and in consequence may have some meanings in common with one another. Perhaps a more lucid way of explaining this would be by means of a so-called Venn diagram.

Let A be the set of Russian perfective verbs, B the set of English temporary verbs. The imperfective aspect is $\sim A$ (not - A) and is represented by $////$; the simple aspect is $\sim B$ (not - B), represented by $\\ \\$. The diagram shows how $\sim B$ covers A and $\sim A$ covers B (the unmarked forms translate the marked forms of the other language, A and B being disjoint sets). The criss-crossed area is the region in which $\sim A$ corresponds to $\sim B$, i.e. the unmarked forms translate one another.



Summing up this relationship between the categories of aspect in English and Russian, it may be said that the temporary and perfective aspects are of a completely different nature and never translate one another. The

perfective form is always translated by a simple form in English, the temporary form is always translated by the imperfective form in Russian. The simple and imperfective aspects translate one another when neither boundedness nor progression are implied, i.e. for general characteristics, iterated actions, etc. However, yet another English category often enters into translations of Russian verbal aspects.

5.2 The category of temporal relationship is based on the opposition of perfect versus simple forms (cf. 3.2.3), its grammatical meaning being the characterization of an action as having preceded and as having had a causal relationship with a later action or state. It is this resulting state or event which is of greater importance and which defines the time with which the perfect forms are associated. The perfect forms are also capable of showing aspect (perfect simple or perfect temporary), and thus can be used as representatives of simple or continuous actions having preceded a more important consequential state or event. The aspectual character of the verb is exactly the same as that of the corresponding non-perfect forms (simple or expanded), the only difference being that now the action is in a secondary position. In Russian there is no formal way of expressing temporal relationship. Instead, aspectual forms and contextual devices are used to bring out this grammatical

meaning. The character of the action is indicated by aspect, as in English, the temporal relationship by context. Thus, here again we find the same similarities and incompatibilities in translation as were existent in the comparison of ordinary aspectual forms. The perfective aspect, when used in an environment expressing a temporal relationship with some point in time must be translated into a perfect form in English, while a perfect expanded form is always translated by an imperfective Russian verb plus the required context. Simple perfect forms in English and imperfective forms in Russian (plus context) may translate one another when neither progression nor completion of the preceding action is implied.

5.3 Up to this point nothing has been mentioned about the influence of tense on the forms used in translation, yet in both Russian and English the categories of tense are closely associated with those of aspect and temporal relationship. To examine this connection more thoroughly and to establish the exact correlation between Russian and English verb forms, we shall take the forms tense by tense and investigate their translations.

5.3.1 In the past tense there are two Russian verb forms (past perfective and imperfective) contrasted to four English forms (past simple and past temporary, past perfect simple and past perfect temporary). With two exceptions, all of the English past tense forms are

translated by past tense forms in Russian, and vice versa. The first exception is in the translation of past perfective verbs showing a temporal relationship with the moment of speech. This is accomplished by means of the English present perfect simple form, e.g. Почему здесь так сквозит? Я открыл окно. Why is it so draughty here? I have opened the window. The second exception is in cases where direct speech or thoughts are reported in subordinate clauses in the past tense. In Russian, indirect speech or thoughts are put in the same tense as that in which they originally occurred. In English, on the other hand, the tense forms are made to correspond with those in the main clause. The correlation of forms in indirect speech will be discussed separately, immediately following the investigation of the more normal correspondences. The past imperfective form in general can be translated by and can translate any of the English past forms, depending on the grammatical meaning required. The past perfective aspect in Russian, being incompatible with the English temporary aspect, can only be translated by and translate the past simple, past perfect simple, and present perfect simple forms. Examples of the seven possible relationships follow.

5.3.1.1 Past Imperfective - Past Simple (Iterated actions, general characteristics, etc.)

Начальники поступали с ним

His superiors treated him in

как-то холодно-деспотически. a coolly despotic manner.

(Гоголь, Шинель)

(I. H.)

5.3.1.2 Past Imperfective - Past Temporary

(Continuous or progressing actions)

Матушка еще лежала на

She was still lying in bed,

кровати против дверей, а по

facing the door, and on her

правую руку стоял кум, . . .

right stood the godfather,

(Гоголь, Шинель)

. . . . (D. M.)

5.3.1.3 Past Imperfective - Past Perfect Simple

(Preceding repeated or continuous events which have no temporary aspectual form in English - 'status' verbs)

Увидевший смиренный вид

Upon perceiving Akakiy

Акакия Акакиевича и его

Akakievitch's modest mein,

старенький вицмундир, он

and his worn undress uniform,

оборотил к нему вдруг и

he turned abruptly to him

сказал: "Что вам угодно?" -

and said, "What do you want?"

голосом отрывистым и твердым,

in a curt, hard voice, which

которому нарочно учился

he had practised in his room

заране у себя в комнате, в

in private, and before a

уединении и перед зеркалом,

looking glass, for a whole

еще за неделю до получения

week before receiving his

нынешнего своего места и

present rank. (I. H.)

генеральского чина. (Гоголь,

Шинель)

5.3.1.4 Past Imperfective - Past Perfective Temporary

(Continuous actions progressing up to the moment of reference)

Я работал уже два часа,
когда они вернулись.

(Качалова, Грамматика
английского языка)

I had been working for two
hours when they came back.

(Kačalova)

5.3.1.5 Past Perfective - Past Simple

(Completed past actions)

Акакий Акакиевич прошел
через кухню, не замеченный
даже самою хозяйкою, и
вступил наконец в комнату,
где увидел Петровича,
. . . . (Гоголь, Шинель)

Akakiy Akakievitch passed
through the kitchen,
unperceived even by the
housewife, and at length
reached a room where he
beheld Petrovitch. . . .

(I. H.)

5.3.1.6 Past Perfective - Past Perfect Simple

(Completed preceding actions)

Рассмотрев её хорошенько у
себя дома, он открыл, что в
двух-трех местах, именно
на спине и на плечах, она
сделалась точная серпанка;
. . . . (Гоголь, Шинель)

He examined it thoroughly
at home, and discovered that
in two places, namely, on
the back and shoulders, it
had become as thin as
mosquito-netting. (I. H.)

5.3.1.7 Past Perfective - Present Perfect Simple

(Action completed before moment of speech)

Так как мы уже заикнулись
про жену, то нужно будет
и о ней сказать слова
два; (Гоголь, Шинель)

As we have stumbled upon his
wife, it will be necessary
to say a word or two about
her; (I. H.)

5.3.2 In the present tense we again have two Russian forms corresponding to four English forms, the relationship between them being very similar to that in the past tense. The Russian imperfective translates and can be translated by all four English forms, while the perfective aspect is correlated with the simple form of the same tense and with the perfect form of the subsequent tense (in this case the future perfect simple). The most strongly felt relationship with the present perfective, however, is established by the English forms [shall/will (should/would) + infinitive]. These forms exhibit the same characteristic modal meanings as their Russian counterpart (see details below). There are two other cases where a present tense form in the source language is not translated by the present tense in the target language. First of all, there is the usage of the present imperfective to describe typical past events with the distinct modal meaning of potentiality. Secondly, there is the example given in 5.3.1.7 (past perfective - present perfect simple). Thus, nine new pairs of associated English and Russian forms are generated in the present tense:

5.3.2.1 Present Imperfective - Present Simple

(General characteristics, iterated actions, futurity of verbs of concrete action, dramatic present for plot-advancing events)

Казалось, он чувствовал в
полной мере, что он сделал
немалое дело и что вдруг
показал в себе бездну,
разделяющую портных,
которые подставляют только
подкладки и переправляют,
от тех которые шьют заново.

(Гоголь, Шинель)

Я письмо отправляю; на
письмо нет ответу.

(Достоевский, Записки. . .)

Завтра летим в Ленинград.
(Pulkina, A Short Russian
. . .)

He seemed sensible to the
fullest extent that he had
done no small deed, and that
a gulf had suddenly appeared,
separating tailors who only
put in linings and make
repairs from those who make
new things. (I. H.)

I send off the letter;
there is no reply. (K. H.)³

Tomorrow we fly to
Leningrad. (K. H.)

5.3.2.2 Present Imperfective - Present Temporary

(Progressing actions, near future for verbs of motion,
dramatic present for background events)

Куда вы идете?

Иду домой. (Pulkina,
A Short Russian. . .)

Сегодня вечером иду в
театр. (Pulkina, A Short
Russian. . .)

Where are you going?

I'm going home. (K. H.)

This evening I'm going to the
theatre. (K. H.)

³Translations by the author will be followed by
the initials K. H.

Вчера я был у товарища.
Сидим мы, разговариваем,
вдруг слышим кто-то
стучится. (Pulkina, A
Short Russian. . .)

Yesterday I was at my
comrade's place. We're
sitting there, talking,
when suddenly we hear
someone knocking. (K. H.)

5.3.2.3 Present Imperfective - Present Perfect Simple
(Continuous or repetitive actions continuing up to the
moment of speech. The English verb is usually a 'status'
verb)

Я знаю его три года.
(Качалова, Грамматика. . .)

I have known him for three
years. (Kačalova)

5.3.2.4 Present Imperfective - Present Perfect Temporary
(Continuous actions progressing up to the moment of
speech)

Он спит уже несколько часов.
(Качалова, Грамматика. . .)

He has been sleeping for
several hours already.
(Kačalova)

5.3.2.5 Present Perfective - Present Simple
(Dramatic present historic)

А больная ко мне лицом
лежит, и руки разметала,
бедняжка. Я подошел . . .
Как она вдруг раскроет
глаза и уставится на меня.
(Тургенев, Уездный доктор)

The sick woman is lying with
her face towards me and her
arms throw apart, poor thing.
I went up to her . . . when
suddenly she opens her eyes
and fixes them on me. (K. H.)

5.3.2.6 Present Perfective

- $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{shall} \\ \text{will} \end{array} \right\}$ + infinitive

(Modal meanings of potential, assurance of typical or habitual actions, assurance of completed future action)

- Слепите бабу, тогда
получите. (Нагибин,
Дети лепят из снега)
Чтоб отдалить минуту
наказания, как я уже
упомнил прежде, решаются
иногда подсудимые на
страшные выходки: пырнет
ножом накануне казни
кого-нибудь из начальства
или своего же брата
арестанта, его и судят
по-новому и отдалается
наказание еще месяца на
два, и цель его
достигается. (Достоевский,
Записки. . .)

"When you've made your snow-
man, then you'll get them."

(Trans. Paul Foote)

I have already explained
that in order to postpone
their punishments, convicts
will do incredible things.
On the eve of the fatal day
they will stab one of their
officers or a comrade,
which will necessitate their
being tried again for a new
offence, and thereby delay
the punishment for a month
or two. (H. S. E.)⁴

Мужик, переселенный из

A peasant sent from Taganrog

⁴Fyodor Dostoevsky, The House of the Dead, trans. H. Sutherland Edwards (New York: Everyman's Library, 1911). Translations from this work will be followed by the initials H. S. E.

Таганрога в Петропавловский
порт, тотчас же найдет там
такого же русского мужика,
тотчас же сговорится и
сладится с ним, а через
два часа они, пожалуй,
заживут самым мирным
образом в одной избе или
в одном шалаше. (Достоевский,
Записки. . .)

to Petropavlovsk will find
exactly the same kind of
peasant there, settle down
with him and feel perfectly
at home in his hut within
two hours. (N.-G.)⁵

5.3.2.7 Present Perfective

- $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{should} \\ \text{would} \end{array} \right\} + \text{infinitive}$

(Assurance or potentiality of an action recurring in the past)

Принесут розги, а
Смекалову стул; он сядет
на него, трубку даже
закурит. (Достоевский,
Записки. . .)

The sticks would be
brought and a chair for
Smekalov. He would sit
down and even light his
pipe. (N.-G.)

5.3.2.8 Present Imperfective

- $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{should} \\ \text{would} \end{array} \right\} + \text{infinitive}$

This usage is very similar to that in 5.3.2.7 and often

⁵F. Dostoevsky, Notes From a Dead House, trans. L. Navrozov, Y. Gural'sky (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, n.d.) Translations from this work will be followed by the initials N.-G.

occurs in the same passage. The difference in meaning is simply aspectual and cannot be translated by a different verb form in English. Consequently, the durativeness or incompleteness must be brought out by the lexical meaning of the verb itself in English, while the imperfective aspect serves this purpose in Russian. The modal meaning of potentiality due to past iteration is the same as that in 5.3.2.7.

Это был пустой и
взбалмошный человек.
Иногда молчит, живет
угрюмо, держит себя
грубо, по неделям не
говорит. А иногда
вдруг ввяжется в
какую-нибудь историю,
начнет сплетничать,
горячится из пустяков,
сует из казармы в
казарму, передает вести,
наговаривает, из себя
выходит. Его побьют, он
опять замолчит. (Достоевский,
Записки. . .)

He was a giddy, empty-
headed individual. Some-
times he would be silent
and sulky for weeks,
speaking to no one, and
then he would get
embroiled with someone
or other, begin to gossip,
get wrought up over
trifles, scurry from barrack
to barrack backbiting and
losing his temper. Finally
someone would give him a
thrashing and he would
relapse into his former
sulks. (N.-G.)

5.3.2.9 Present Imperfective - $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{should} \\ \text{would} \end{array} \right\} + \text{be} + \dots -\text{ing}$

(Assurance or potentiality of a progressive or continuous action recurring in the past)

. . . Бывало, он меня не
замечает, а я стою у
двери и думаю: Бедный,
бедный старик! Нас
много, мы играем, нам
весело, а он - один
одишёнек. . .

(Л. Толстой)

At times he would not notice
me, and I would be standing
by the door, thinking,
"Poor, poor old man! There
are many of us; we play
together and are happy, but
he is all by himself. . ."

(К. Н.)

5.3.3 There is only one future form in Russian correlated with four English forms. The modal meanings of potentiality or assurance are almost extinct in the future imperfective. Consequently, the only time this form is correlated with the English 'periphrastic future' is when non-completed actions are explicitly intended. A perfective form would be impossible because of its aspectual meaning, although its modal connotation is closer to that of the periphrastic future or future temporary forms in English. In all, the four ways of translating the future imperfective are the same as those found in the present or past, viz.:

5.3.3.1 Future Imperfective - $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{shall} \\ \text{will} \end{array} \right\} + \text{infinitive}$

(Iterated or non-completed actions in the future)

Что за чорт! - раздался
в темноте Костин голос.
- Будем теперь сидеть
без света. (И. Ильф и Е.
Петров, Последняя
встреча)

"What the hell!" Kostin's
voice resounded in the
darkness. "Now we'll sit
here without light."
(К. Н.)

5.3.3.2 Future Imperfective - $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{shall} \\ \text{will} \end{array} \right\} + \text{be} + . . . -\text{ing}$

(Continuous actions in the future)

Я буду читать газету, I shall be reading a
когда он придет. newspaper when he comes.
(Качалова, Грамматика. . .) (Kačalova)

5.3.3.3 Future Imperfective - Future Perfect Simple
(Actions continuing up to the reference point in time
but which are not found in the temporary aspect in
English, actions completed before future reference
point)

Я буду жить здесь уже три I shall have lived here
года, когда вы вернетесь. already three years when
(К. Г.) you return. (К. Н.)

5.3.3.4 Future Imperfective - Future Perfect Temporary
(Actions continuous in the period preceding the main
event or state)

Я буду работать (уже) два I shall have been working
часа, когда они вернутся. for two hours when they
(Качалова, Грамматика. . .) come back. (Kačalova)

5.3.4 This covers the most widespread usages of Russian verb forms and their translations in English. The correlations which have so far been established, however, are not valid for all situations. It may be said that for most principal and subordinate clauses the above relationships hold, yet in a few special types of subordinate clauses certain divergencies arise.

5.3.4.1 Most noteworthy of these exceptions is in the usage of verbal forms in indirect speech or thoughts. In English when past speech or thoughts are reported, the verb of the subordinate clause (replacing the actual quotation) must correspond in tense to the verb of the main clause. When present or future speech is reported, there is no change in form from the original quotation. These rules are illustrated in the following table:

TABLE 1
CHANGES IN ENGLISH VERB FORMS IN
INDIRECT SPEECH AND THOUGHTS

Direct Quotation	Indirect Past Speech
<u>Present</u> [He said,] "I drive a car now." "I am enjoying myself." "I have eaten the apple."	[He said that] he drove a car then. he was enjoying himself. he had eaten the apple.

TABLE 1 -- Continued

Direct Quotation	Indirect Past Speech
"I have been destroying myself."	he had been destroying himself.
<u>Past</u>	
"I ate part of everything."	he had eaten part of everything.
"I was enjoying myself until she came."	he had been enjoying himself until she came.
"I had partaken of the feast."	he had partaken of the feast.
"I had been drinking too much."	he had been drinking too much.
<u>Future</u>	
"I will go with you."	he would go with you.
"I shall be driving soon."	he should (would) be driving soon.
"I shall have completed my course by then."	he should (would) have completed his course by then.
"I shall have been working very hard."	he should (would) have been working very hard. ⁶

⁶These forms are seldom used because of the obvious confusion in meaning with the subjunctive and conditional moods. Taking this indirect speech by itself one might think that the original quotations were: "I should (would) have completed my course by then," or "I should (would) have been working very hard."

As can be seen from the above examples, when the reported utterance took place in the past, the form of the verb is shifted back one 'temporal notch' in indirect speech, e.g. present simple becomes past simple, past simple becomes past perfect simple, etc. Past perfect forms, expressing the 'farthest' past events, are incapable of being shifted any further back and thus remain unchanged.

In Russian, indirect speech or thoughts always retain the tense and form of the original quotation, e.g.

Акакий Акакиевич, прибежав к нему, начал
задыхающимся голосом кричать, что он спит
и ни за чем не смотрит, не видит как грабят
человека. (Гоголь, Шинель)

(Он начал кричать: "Ты спишь и ни за чем не
смотришь, не видишь, как грабят человека.")

Сколько раз предупреждал он меня, что все
это кончится катастрофой. (П. Яльцев,
Метель)

(Сколько раз предупреждал он меня:

"Все это кончится катастрофой.")

This leads us to a new set of correlations between Russian and English forms, valid for indirect speech, thought, or events in subordinate clauses. These clauses are usually introduced by the conjunction that in English,

что in Russian. The aspect and tense forms of the Russian verbs are the same as they would be if they were translating direct rather than indirect speech from English. As in English, the personal forms of the verb change in accordance with the subject of the reported sentence. A few examples will serve to illustrate the differences in usage.

Когда же рассказал он, в
чем дело, она всплеснула
руками и сказала, что
нужно идти прямо к
частному, что квартальный
надует, пообещается и
станет водить;. . .

(Гоголь, Шинель)

"Нет, лучше и не глядеть,"
- подумал и шел, закрыв
глаза, и когда открыл их,
чтобы узнать, близко ли
конец площади, увидел
вдруг, что перед ним
стоят почти перед носом
какие-то люди с усами,
. . . (Гоголь, Шинель)

When he told the matter, she
clasped her hands, and said
that he must go straight to
the superintendent, for the
captain would turn up his
nose, promise well, and drop
the matter there;. . .

(I. H.)

"No, it is better not to
look," he thought, and went
on, closing his eyes; and
when he opened them, to
see whether he was near
the end of the square, he
saw that some sort of
bearded individuals were
standing almost before his
very nose. (K. H.)

5.3.4.2 Another divergency between Russian and English usages of aspectual and tense forms is in subordinate adverbial clauses of future time. It is possible in English to use the present simple or present temporary forms in such cases, in place of [shall/will + infinitive] or [shall/will + be + . . .-ing], when the latter forms have already been used in the principal clause. In Russian, the normal aspectual and tense forms are used in both clauses, e.g.

<u>Он будет с ней</u>	<u>He will be speaking to</u>
<u>разговаривать, когда вы</u>	<u>her when you come.</u>
<u>придете.</u> (Качалова,	(Kačalova)
<u>Грамматика. . .)</u>	

5.3.4.3 There are other stylistic and idiomatic uses of Russian aspects and tenses which can hardly be translated by similar forms in English. For instance, ejaculations of the type Я пошел, вернусь скоро would probably be best translated I'm off! I'll be back soon. Also Ну, поехали! Well, let's go! shows a past indicative form functioning as an imperative. Many other colloquial irregularities exist, yet those functions given in this chapter seem to be the most widespread.

5.4 The results of this study of the correspondence of English and Russian aspectual forms may be summarized on tables showing the functions of these forms and their relationships to the categories of tense, temporal

relationship and mode.

TABLE 2
THE CORRESPONDENCE OF ENGLISH AND RUSSIAN PERSONAL
VERB FORMS AND THEIR FUNCTIONS IN THE ACTIVE VOICE,
INDICATIVE MOOD

Russian Forms	English Forms
<p>I <u>Past Perfective</u></p> <p>1) Single completed actions and plot-advancing events</p> <p>2) Pluperfect of completed actions</p> <p>3) Perfect of completed actions</p>	<p>I* <u>Past Simple</u></p> <p>1) Single completed actions and plot-advancing events in past</p> <p>2) Iterative actions, in past, characteristics in past</p>
<p>II <u>Past Imperfective</u></p> <p>1) Continuous or progressive action in past</p> <p>2) Iterative actions in past, characteristics in past</p> <p>3) Pluperfect of non- completed actions</p>	<p>II* <u>Past Temporary</u></p> <p>1) Continuous or progressive action in past</p> <p>III* <u>Past Perfect Simple</u></p> <p>1) Pluperfect of completed actions</p> <p>2) Pluperfect of continuous actions (status verbs)</p> <p>IV* <u>Past Perfect Temporary</u></p> <p>1) Pluperfect of continuous actions (process verbs)</p>

TABLE 2 -- Continued

Russian Forms	English Forms
	V* <u>would/should + infinitive</u>
	1) Assurance of past completed actions
	2) Assurance of past iterated actions or characteristics
	VI* <u>would/should + be + . . . -ing</u>
	1) Assurance of past continuous action
III <u>Present Imperfective</u>	VII* <u>Present Simple</u>
1) Iterative actions, characteristics	1) Iterative actions, characteristics
2) Continuous or progressive actions at moment of speech	2) Reported momentary actions
3) Dramatic present for non-completed actions and plot-advancing events	3) Dramatic present of plot-advancing events
4) Present perfect of continuous actions	4) Dramatic present for unexpected events
5) Assurance of past iterated actions or characteristics	5) Assurance of future events
6) Reported momentary actions	VIII* <u>Present Temporary</u>
	1) Continuous or progressive actions at moment of speech

TABLE 2 -- Continued

Russian Forms	English Forms
7) Assurance of future incompleted actions	2) Assurance of future progressive action
IV <u>Present Perfective</u>	3) Dramatic present for background events
1) Assurance of future completed action	IX* <u>Present Perfect Simple</u>
2) Assurance of past completed action	1) Perfect of completed actions
3) Assurance of present completed action	2) Perfect of continuous actions (status verbs)
4) Potential future completed action	X* <u>Present Perfect</u> <u>Temporary</u>
5) Potential present completed action	1) Perfect of continuous actions (process verbs)
6) Potential past completed action	XI* <u>will/shall + infinitive</u> <u>('Future' simple)</u>
7) Dramatic present historic	1) Assurance of future completed action
8) Future perfect (same as 1) of completed actions	2) Assurance of future iterated actions
V <u>Future Imperfective</u>	3) Potential present action
1) Future continuous or progressive action	4) Potential future action
2) Future iterated action	XII* <u>will/shall + be + . . .</u> <u>-ing ('Future' temporary)</u>
3) Future perfect of incompleted action	1) Assurance of future continuous actions

TABLE 2 -- Continued

Russian Forms	English Forms
	XIII* <u>'Future' Perfective</u>
	<u>Simple</u>
	1) Future perfect of completed actions
	2) Future perfect of continuous actions (status verbs)
	XIV* <u>'Future' Perfect</u>
	<u>Temporary</u>
	1) Future perfect of continuous actions (process verbs)

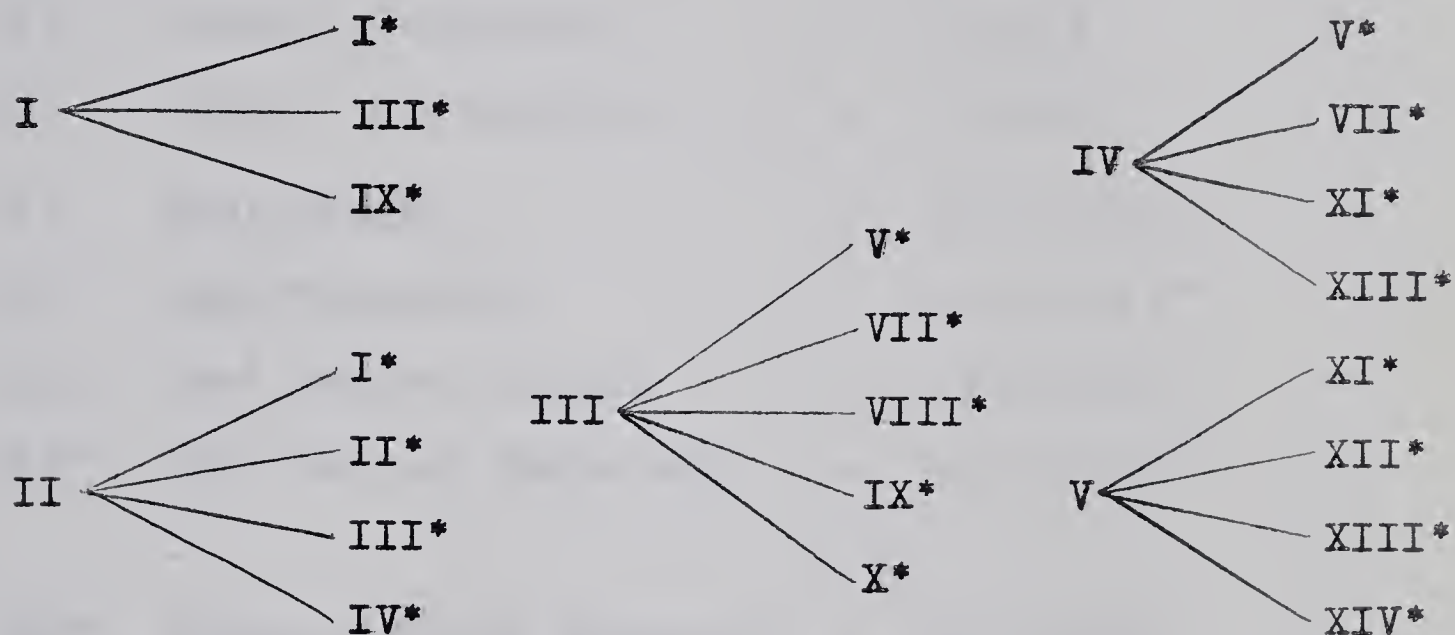
If the forms are designated by the Roman numerals and their functions by subscripts, the correspondence is the following (starred forms are English):

I ₁ - I ₁ *	III ₃ - VII ₃ *	IV ₂ - V ₁ *
I ₂ - III ₁ *	III ₃ - VIII ₃ *	IV ₃ - XI ₃ *
I ₃ - IX ₁ *	III ₄ - IX ₂ *	IV ₄ - XI ₄ *
II ₁ - II ₁ *	III ₄ - X ₁ *	IV ₅ - XI ₃ *
II ₂ - I ₂ *	III ₅ - V ₂ *	IV ₆ - V ₁ *
II ₃ - IV ₁ *	III ₆ - VII ₂ *	IV ₇ - VII ₄ *
II ₃ - III ₂ *	III ₇ - VII ₅ *	IV ₈ - XIII ₁ *
III ₁ - VIII ₁ *	III ₇ - VIII ₃ *	V ₁ - XII ₁ *
III ₂ - VIII ₁ *	IV ₁ - XI ₁ *	V ₂ - XI ₂ *

$V_3 - XIV_1^*$

$V_3 - XIII_2^*$

Simplifying this set of paired numerals by committing the functions which are duplicated, we get the following correspondence of forms in translation from Russian to English.



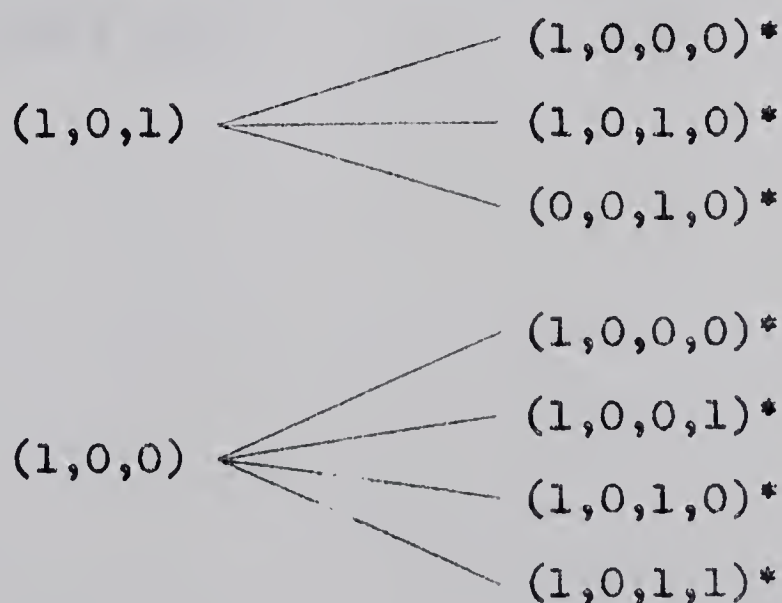
A handier way of depicting these correlations would be to represent each form by an ordered set of binary numbers. Russian forms consist of three numbers, English four, the meaning of each number being given below:

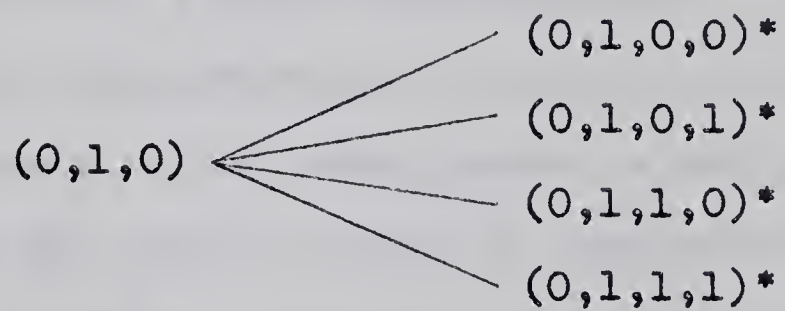
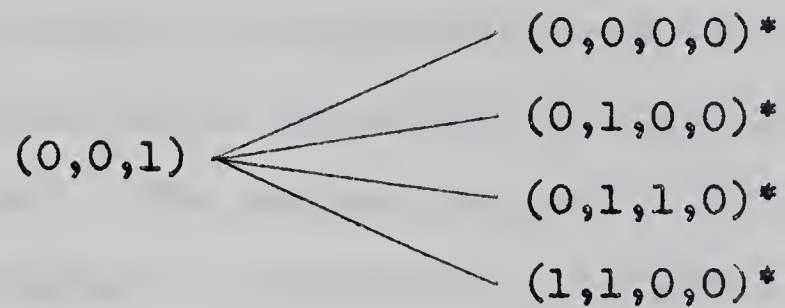
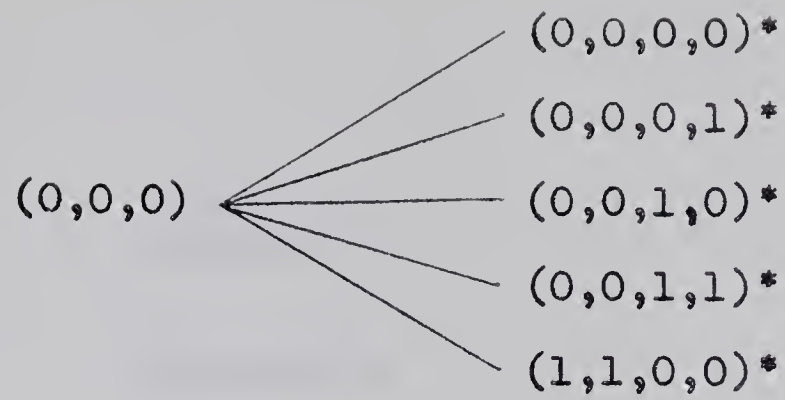
<u>Russian forms</u>		<u>English forms</u>	
<u>Position</u>	<u>Representation</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>Representation</u>
1	- past tense	1	past tense ($\{-D\}$)
2	- <u>byt'</u>	2	<u>will/shall</u>
3	- perfective aspect	3	<u>have</u> + . . . $\{-N\}$
		4	<u>be</u> + . . . <u>-ing</u>

The number one in any of the above positions indicates the existence of the corresponding marker, while 0 is used in its absence. The forms become the following:

I	Past Perfective	-	(1,0,1)
II	Past Imperfective	-	(1,0,0)
III	Present Imperfective	-	(0,0,0)
IV	Present Perfective	-	(0,0,1)
V	Future Imperfective	-	(0,1,0)
I*	Past Simple	-	(1,0,0,0)*
II*	Past Temporary	-	(1,0,0,1)*
III*	Past Perfect Simple	-	(1,0,1,0)*
IV*	Past Perfect Temporary	-	(1,0,1,1)*
.			
XIV*	Future Perfect Temporary	-	(0,1,1,0)*

The previously given set of correlations may now be written in the following, more easily readable form:



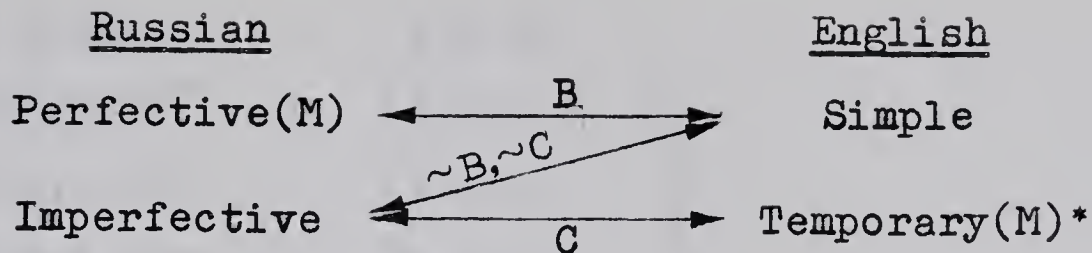


The reverse translation from English to Russian can readily be worked out from the above correlations, and need not be included here.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

6.0 It was seen in the preceding chapters that both English and Russian verbs are marked by the grammatical category of aspect. The marked temporary form in English represents continuous or continuously repeated actions at a given time or in a given time interval. The Russian perfective aspect characterizes an action as having attained a boundary in its development, a notion closely associated with the related ideas of completion and result. Since these two marked forms have almost diametrically opposite grammatical meanings, they never translate one another. Instead, the unmarked simple form in English translates the Russian perfective; the unmarked imperfective form in Russian translates the English temporary aspect. The simple aspect in English translates the imperfective aspect when neither continuous nor progressive action is implied, and, correspondingly, the imperfective aspect translates the simple aspect when there is no indication of the action being bounded. This relationship of forms may be schematically represented as follows:



*(M - marked aspect; B - boundedness, C - continuity,
 \sim - not, \longleftrightarrow - translates and is translated by)

The relationship may be confirmed by an examination of the last correlation system of the previous chapter.

There, the digit one in the last position of the number set for either language represented the marked aspect.

It is easily seen that a one in this position for English forms always corresponds to a zero in the Russian forms, while a one in the Russian forms always corresponds to a zero in the English. Zeros in either Russian or English forms may be correlated with ones or zeros of the target language. This aspectual correspondence is unaffected by any changes in tense, mode, or temporal relationship. For reference purposes, it will be worthwhile to reproduce the twenty correlated forms. They are:

T	M	TR	A		T	M	A	
1.	(1,0,0,1)*	-	(1,0,0)	}	<u>Temporary - Imperfective</u>			
2.	(1,0,1,1)*	-	(1,0,0)					
3.	(0,0,0,1)*	-	(0,0,0)					
4.	(0,0,1,1)*	-	(0,0,0)					
5.	(0,1,0,1)*	-	(0,1,0)					
6.	(0,1,1,1)*	-	(0,1,0)					

T M TR A		T M A	
7. (1,0,0,0)*	-	(1,0,1)	} <u>Simple</u> - <u>Perfective</u>
8. (1,0,1,0)*	-	(1,0,1)	
9. (0,0,0,0)*	-	(0,0,1)	
10. (0,0,1,0)*	-	(1,0,1)	
11. (0,1,0,0)*	-	(0,0,1)	
12. (0,1,1,0)*	-	(0,0,1)	
13. (1,1,0,0)*	-	(0,0,1)	
14. (1,0,0,0)*	-	(1,0,0)	} <u>Simple</u> - <u>Imperfective</u>
15. (1,0,1,0)*	-	(1,0,0)	
16. (0,0,0,0)*	-	(0,0,0)	
17. (0,0,1,0)*	-	(0,0,0)	
18. (1,1,0,0)*	-	(0,1,0)	
19. (0,1,0,0)*	-	(0,1,0)	
20. (0,1,1,0)*	-	(0,1,0) ¹	

6.0.1 The basic relationship of English and Russian aspectual forms, while itself remaining constant in all situations, is often accompanied by variations in the other categories. Divergencies from an isomorphic correspondence in tense occur in the pairs (10), (13), and (18). In (10), perfect temporal relationship is

¹T - tense, M - mode, TR - temporal relationship, A - aspect. M in English is marked by the existence of will or shall, while in Russian byt' serves this purpose. Admittedly, the latter does not have the same strong modal meanings as will or shall, yet the correspondence of forms is such that they usually translate one another. Thus we are forced to use a common designation.

expressed in the present tense, simple aspect. Since this category is non-existent in Russian, the same grammatical meaning is expressed by the verbal aspect accompanied by a variation in tense. The ability of both Russian aspectual forms to transmit the modal meaning of potentiality or assurance in the past through present tense forms [(13) and (18)] is another characteristic which cannot be duplicated in English. Consequently, English past tense forms of the auxiliaries shall and will are used in this capacity.

6.0.2 Future modal meanings are expressed both by the present perfective and future imperfective in Russian. The corresponding English forms in will or shall reproduce, in most cases, these notions. One irregularity is noted in (9) where the present perfective is translated by the present simple. In this case the function referred to is that of the dramatic present, a stylistic device in which plot-advancing events are represented by the present simple in English, by the present perfective in Russian.

6.0.3 The category of temporal relationship (TR) does not exist in Russian. It can be seen from the correlated forms that, with one exception, an English form showing a perfect temporal relationship is translated by the same Russian form as that showing no temporal relationship (cf. (1) vs. (2), (3) vs. (4), (5) vs. (6), etc.). This results from the fact that contextual devices are

usually employed in Russian to show that the action preceded the given reference point in time, i.e. adverbs such as uže, kak, do tech por, etc. The exception is in the present perfect simple (10) where the past perfective, rather than the present perfective plus context is used in translation (cf. 6.0.1).

6.1 Despite these irregularities in the translation of tense, mode, and temporal relationship, however, the relationship between Russian and English aspects remains constant. Within each aspectual category, nonetheless, certain peculiarities are manifested which, although they do not change the correlations of aspectual forms, are of interest because they do not show the same features as the majority of the elements in the category.

6.1.1 In both languages there are verbs which are found in only one aspectual form, their lexical meaning preventing them from establishing a correlate of the other aspect. The majority of Russian verbs of this type are imperfective; in English they are simple. Insofar as these uni-aspectual verbs in both Russian and English usually represent constant states or characteristics, they often translate one another. This is especially true in translations from English to Russian, since a simple uni-aspectual verb representing a non-continuous or non-progressive state is necessarily unbounded and therefore imperfective uni-aspectual in Russian, e.g. belong to (S) -

prinadležat' (I). The converse is not true, however, since an unbounded Russian imperfective verb may be progressive or continuous, and therefore may be translated by the English temporary aspect (not by a 'status' verb), e.g. kvartirovat' - to live in an apartment.

6.1.2 Dual-aspectual verbs exist only in Russian, probably because both the perfective and imperfective aspects are synthetic in form and are easily mistaken for one another. In English, on the other hand, the simple aspect is synthetic, the temporary aspect analytic, thus one form could never be confused with or replace the other.

Again, despite the irregular form of uni-aspectual and dual-aspectual verbs, no divergencies in the correlation of Russian and English aspectual forms are found.

6.2 It can be seen, then, that regardless what tense, mode, or temporal relationship is expressed by the Russian and English verb forms, or what their lexical meanings are, their aspectual relationship with one another remains constant. In literal translations of verbs in the active voice, indicative mood, the Russian perfective aspect is always translated by the English simple aspect; the English temporary aspect is always translated by the Russian imperfective aspect. For verbs functioning in contexts where there is no clear indication of the grammatical meanings of either the perfective or temporary

principles' (1). The converse is not true, however,

since an unbounded Russian imperative verb can be translated
progressive or continuous, and therefore can be translated
by the English temporary aspect (not as a usual verb).

e.g. живишь - 'to live in an apartment'

4.1.2 Dual-aspectual verbs exist only in Russian.

Probably because both the perfective and imperfective
aspects are synthetic in form and are easily attached to
one another. In English, on the other hand, the perfective
aspect is synthetic, the temporary aspect analytic, and
one form could never be confused with or replace the
other.

Again, despite the irregular form of dual-aspectual
and dual-aspectual verbs, no divergences in the perfective
of Russian and English aspectual forms are found.

4.2 It can be seen, then, that perfective and imperfective
forms, or temporal relationship is expressed by the perfective
and imperfective verb forms, or what is called 'aspectual
relationship' with the perfective form.
In Russian, the perfective form of a verb is the perfective
form, indicative mood, the Russian perfective form is
always translated by the English simple aspect, and
English temporary aspect is always translated by the
Russian imperfective aspect. For verbs forming the
perfective there is no other indication of the
aspectual meaning of either the perfective or imperfective

aspects, the unmarked imperfective and simple forms
translate one another.

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B29836